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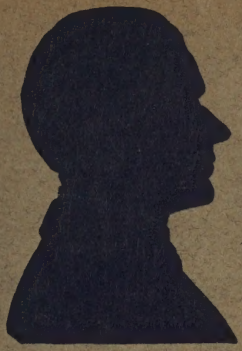

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BY

Calvin Coolidge

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THE PREPARATION OF CALVIN COOLIDGE

THE PREPARATION OF CALVIN COOLIDGE

An Interpretation

BY

ROBERT A. WOODS

Author of "The Neighborhood in Nation Building"

Boston and New York
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
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THE PREPARATION OF CALVIN COOLIDGE

THE PREPARATION OF CALVIN COOLIDGE

CHAPTER I

APPROACHES FOR WRITER AND READER

CALVIN COOLIDGE went through a more consistent and complete preparation for the presidency than any previous incumbent of the office. This has been pointed out by two wise men independently of each other — Frederick H. Gillett, Speaker of the National House of Representatives, and Dr. L. Clark Seelye, who built up Smith College. Each of them has been in position to follow Mr. Coolidge's course at first hand. One has been Congressman for his district, the other a near neighbor, since Mr. Coolidge established himself in Northampton in the autumn of 1895.

Starting with the Common Council soon after his admission to the bar, he has gone up a steadily ascending scale of office, legislative and executive; partly paralleled, partly interrupted, by an attorney's experience with the judiciary branch of government. He has entered with a rare individual quality of penetration into the duties of every office

held by him. The solid reason for his phenomenally rapid advance since 1914, when he first became known throughout Massachusetts, was that he filled out the measure of each successive responsibility. It is significant that before entering his two great executive positions as Governor and President, he had first created an essentially new conception of understudy to each of them.

In a confused and anxious state of the country, a man who was buttressed in American standards suddenly had the national searchlight turned upon him. The strike of the Boston police did not so much make a reputation as it revealed a character. It dramatically opened a national career which would, in some impressive form, have come about in any case by the steady momentum of ability and achievement. On account of the intensity of the police strike issue, it has tended to obscure the rest of an administration as Governor which was serviceable, productive, and timely in a very high degree.

At the risk of rebuke for New England complacency, it may be suggested that there are grounds for the statement sometimes made that the governorship of Massachusetts is the second office in the land. Its traditions are certainly surpassed only by those of the presidency. Through it is put into

effect an unparalleled body of State legislation. It carries out a very advanced policy for the supervision of industry, commerce, and transportation; controls the administration of public institutions which for variety, technical standards, and humanity of outlook are probably unequalled; is highly influential in ways of sentiment with relation to the whole movement of education and social progress throughout the State. Moreover, the Governor of Massachusetts is the head and centre of the only one of the forty-eight State Governments that is carried on in the midst of a great city. He has its vast and thronging panorama constantly before his eyes as he looks out from the city's acropolis under the gilded dome of the State House. The endless interplay of its life is constantly finding ways of bearing in upon him. Indeed, a significant share of his official duties have to do with the specific government of the metropolitan area. On account of the inbred individuality of ancient communities, Greater Boston is not one city, but forty cities and towns. Their indivisible common interests are controlled by the State. The Governor is thus a super-mayor with large powers and responsibilities in relation to the fundamental physical and moral well-being of the fourth centre of urban population in America.

Mr. Coolidge met the challenge of these various aspects of the governorship in their fullest meaning just when all the restraints and tensions involved in the World War were being suddenly relaxed.

A royal saint of the Middle Ages was said to be " simple in life, yet sovereign in resolve." These are the determining qualities which have been found in Calvin Coolidge. As he has emerged from necessary loyal commitments to the presidential administration which he inherited, out into the full authority of his office, the grievous sequels of the war period have only served to set off his personal character and public purpose with a kind of distinction for which there are few precedents in our history.

There is endless complexity to politics. Sooner or later it vitally concerns every far-reaching interest of all our people. On the other hand, it is conditioned at every turn by their available collective intelligence. Mr. Coolidge, throughout his career, has striven to advance both principle and practice in the maze of public affairs, and patiently to knit the two together. He has made it his stake to give substance to things hoped for; to bring the reasonable and possible thing actually to pass. A biting sense of the inescapable responsibility that has always been his for the results of his proposals,

is essential to one who would seek to weigh and measure the meaning of such a life.

Calvin Coolidge has often referred to his unspeakable debt to a great college teacher. That teacher never ceased to emphasize the solitary ascendancy of truth. But he insisted that we must not only speak the truth in love, but first undertake in that spirit to acquire it; that the real truth is never accessible in any other way. Particularly with regard to human nature, limitations and shortcomings no less than high values are never justly disclosed to one who sits in the seat of the scornful. Any such point of view cannot harmonize with that wholesome curiosity of the American people with regard to President Coolidge which is nearly everywhere tinged with a peculiar quality of sympathy.

The modesty and the quietude of the man have much to do with this — but because they are felt to be the protective foil of further still unrevealed, possibly superlative, inward power. The foremost figure in the Old Testament held back from the summons to his career on the ground that he was "slow of speech and of a slow tongue." In one of the catechisms of former days, Moses was called "the meekest man." But he led his people out of oppression, brought them to the Promised Land,

and became one of the first historic nation-builders. This in spite of his reserve. Or, shall we say because of it; considering his gift for the distilled essence of political and moral wisdom.

The unparalleled trust which the people are placing in a man so little and so lately known, shows that instinct tells them of a very human person behind his robes of office, and behind his silence. A recent visitor at the White House has testified — what all who are really acquainted with Mr. Coolidge know — that his abbreviated informal utterance is exceptionally humorous. It might be thought that his general characteristics could not go further than to win respect; but how could he have come so far without both the deeper and the gentler qualities that hold the friendship of strong men? The following pages will show how, from first to last, he has been applying the promptings of a considered motive, and at times of a coherent programme, for the advance of human betterment. Every address ever made by him is compact practical optimism. Deeply versed in the philosophy and the loyalty that made and maintain the American political system, he is the present-day exponent, in thought and life, of that faith in a righteous civic order which is at the heart of the Puritan conception of a divine commonwealth.

Each of the successive chapters in Mr. Coolidge's career have been framed in, and distinctly affected by, an important phase of recent political history. When a boy he was close to the New England town-meeting as a continuing reality. In college, the conception of the "scholar in politics," representing the reaction from the crudities of the twenty-five years following the Civil War, was deeply impressed upon him. As holder of various public offices in a small and favored city, he drew constructive lessons from the "muck-raking" and subsequent reforms that marked the beginning of the new century among the confused and crowded populations of the great urban centres. Passing out into the broader horizon of State politics, he encountered the problems that were calling the Progressive movement into being; and as we shall show, proceeded to express its purport in many significant directions from that time forward. He was second officer of the State while America was gathering all her resources, and transcending many of her traditions, in order to be a nation at war. He was advanced to the governorship amid all the baffling cross-currents that were released by the armistice. As the result of his high fulfilment of this responsibility, the people summoned him to be lieutenant to the national leader, and finally by a

higher dispensation he became the leader himself — amid the vast issues of the post-war period.

The present recital enters at once into the central texture of the story from the point of view of those to whom Mr. Coolidge first became known as a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, gathering up the back threads later on as the gradual deepening of interest in his advance seemed to suggest. Achievement in law-making is obviously a desirable prerequisite to the Nation's chief magistrate. Six years in the Legislature, four of them in the State Senate, and two of these its President, followed by two years as presiding officer of the United States Senate, constitute a large and varied measure of such experience. Mr. Coolidge would have gained, of course, by service in the national representative chamber; but James Bryce held that the Massachusetts General Court ranked first among the State Legislatures; and Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, later Minister to China, was able to show that "the General Court of Massachusetts is in all respects nearest to the people and most responsive of any American legislature to public opinion."

CHAPTER II

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

THE first Josiah Quincy, who met George Washington in 1795, said that the President reminded him " of the gentlemen who used to come to Boston in those days to attend the General Court from Hampden or Franklin County in the western part of the State. A little stiff in his person, not a little formal in his manners, not particularly at ease in the presence of strangers. He has the air of a country-gentleman not accustomed to mix much in society, perfectly polite, but not easy in his address and conversation, and not graceful in his gait and movements." James Russell Lowell, in quoting these words, remarks that we are so accustomed to seeing Washington on horseback that it is interesting for once to see him dismounted.

Boston makes the same distinction to-day as was made by its second mayor, who was later president of Harvard College. It would use somewhat identical terms in comparing the members of the State Government who are more or less rural outlanders with selected ones from the city and

suburbs. As this attitude goes with a quite undue appropriation of power on the part of Greater Boston representatives, it is difficult for the more distant constituencies to maintain their rights. Their representatives certainly begin, and often continue, subject to a distinct handicap.

Calvin Coolidge came from Northampton on the Connecticut to the session of 1907. He established himself at the Adams House, a hostelry which saw its glory in the seventies. It has long been the abode of country members. He brought an amusing letter of introduction from his predecessor to the Speaker of the House of Representatives which affirmed that he was better than he looked — a prediction of performance to exceed promise, which was to be inconceivably fulfilled.

With reserve and restraint written upon his features, his expression, his manner, and his voice, his introduction to the House with its two hundred and forty members was inevitably slow and difficult. As a matter of fact, Mr. Coolidge during two years' service in this body did not rise into any sort of outwardly commanding position. So far as all its large control and its public front were concerned, he was completely overshadowed by men of aggressive speech and act. The power of the Legislature is largely vested in its committees, and

no committee chairmanship came to him while he was in the House.

The Speaker welcomed him when he presented his letter. Learning that he was a lawyer, the Speaker suggested that he would probably like to be on the judiciary committee, but this was an honor that could hardly be given to a new member. He was assigned to the committees on mercantile affairs and on constitutional amendments.

The system of public hearings as conducted by the Massachusetts Legislature continues to carry not a little of the atmosphere of the town-meeting. Every bill introduced at the beginning of the session is placed on the schedule for a hearing before a joint committee of the House and Senate. In nearly every instance, interested private citizens appear, for and against. This is the principal means through which the different elements in the metropolitan population impress themselves directly upon the Legislature, thus continuing in marked degree, not only to preserve the old tradition, but to illustrate the increasing public alertness of to-day.

The new member for Northampton proceeded to take all phases of his committee work with seriousness, and devoted his full attention to it. He has testified since that the committee hearings were

of genuine educational value to him. They imparted to him, as the object of direct and pungent personal outgiving, what was on top of the minds of many contrasted kinds of people. They helped him, not only as the result of manifold specific statements, but, still more, of side-issues and implications, to judge how this or that proposal was going to work out if crystallized into law. He had already had ten years' experience in a calling which aims to find what is behind the eyes of juries. In one of his later speeches, he said that Lincoln learned to understand the people because as a lawyer on the circuit he was compelled to understand them. In a real sense, the young attorney, become legislator, had entire jury panels coming day after day and laying their minds open before him. This was the significant beginning of legislative experience to a keen observer, with an intense curiosity about people, but without personal facility of approach to them and lacking thus far in avenues of approach.

He undertook little in the way of cross-examination of those who came to testify before his committees. But he listened. The results of his attention came later. His committee associates were the first to learn, what gradually came to be understood by all the members of the House, that

during all the time while he was silent his mind was intensely engaged, and always with the immediate question. He had a way of coming in at the end with wisdom. He was ready in executive sessions of committees to set forth any and all phases of the discussion in their order and significance. He did not allow himself to rely wholly upon what came out in hearings and committee sessions. He considered that the public was his client, and its case must be thoroughly gone into. He was accustomed to surprise persons who had appeared before committees by being at the pains of making first-hand investigation of the facts. By the time a bill in which he had become definitely interested, for or against, was ready to be brought before the House, it was found that he was master of the subject.

In any serious study of Mr. Coolidge's mind and character, of his spontaneous reactions to the problems of society, and of the attitudes and actions which most directly and simply reveal his feeling toward large human issues, his two years in the Massachusetts House are of the highest significance. There is a rather widespread impression, that has been sedulously cultivated by partisan opponents, to the effect that Mr. Coolidge is a dyed-in-the-wool conservative, that he is a con-

vinced defender of the present status of things, of the powers that be. Without anticipating the bearing on this point of a later avowedly altered point of view, let us briefly review a series of legislative services which would do credit to a somewhat radical social reformer.

Before the Committee on Mercantile Affairs came a bill that aroused intense public interest. It had to do with subject-matter which was then, in a somewhat different way, as anxious and controversial as it is now — petroleum. An independent refiner, carrying on a small business in Springfield, found his operations baffled by the Standard Oil Company. Mr. Coolidge took up his cause, framed an anti-monopoly bill and fought for it on the floor of the House. Though he was unable to secure its enactment, he had made the outstanding effort of the session for economic freedom and fair play.

The next year he was appointed a member of the committees on the judiciary and on banking. He took up before the House the bill of a special recess committee restricting the power of the courts in issuing injunctions. This was and is a vexatious question, and of the most serious import. In one of the strongest speeches of the year, Mr. Coolidge contended that the bill would take away

the ground for all just criticism of the courts on the part of the laboring classes, while leaving the courts with every power to protect property and deal with disorder. His speech commended the bill so thoroughly to men of different minds that it was carried through the House. His efforts, which had been favorably mentioned by the press in the case of the anti-monopoly bill, were widely commented on in this connection.

As member of the Committee on Banking his most distinct service was in connection with a recodification of the banking laws. In Northampton he had been for some time attorney for a savings bank. With some direct knowledge of the subject, together with close attention to testimony at hearings and special study, he was able to make a very valuable contribution in this important field.

He took a distinct interest in legislation for the liberalizing of the process of nominating and electing public officers. The two principal bills which he supported in this connection were those favoring the direct election of United States Senators and the direct primary for the nomination of all elective officers by the individual voters rather than by party conventions or caucus.

Woman suffrage had commended itself to him almost from the beginning of his serious thought

about political questions. He supported the cause as soon as he had opportunity in the Legislature, and continued in succeeding years to advance it at every opportunity.

Among bills which he favored conducive to better conditions of living were those providing for: one day's rest in seven, reduced working hours for women and children, lower railroad fares for workingmen and half-fares for children, the prevention of cheating in sale of coal, pensions for the widows of firemen killed in discharge of duty, encouragement of cities and towns in the provision of playgrounds.

These were the interests that gave character to Calvin Coolidge's first service to the State. Before his second session was completed, while he had in no sense come into the centre of the scene, he had made a marked impression on the minds of his thoughtful colleagues. He had shown himself a man of exceptional independence, balanced and sustained by sound judgment. He had become known as one of the exceptional members who made up a case before the Legislature with as much thoroughness as if he were appearing before the judges of the Supreme Court. In addition, while he as yet had not produced any of the finished public addresses which marked his later

career, he was spoken of as one of the few members of the House who in public and private showed most clearly the marks of a liberal education.

Altogether, he was thought of as one who might fairly aspire to membership in the upper chamber. Whether he would reach that elevation was considered doubtful. On the basis of worth, his claim would be good; and it would be recognized by the few. He made not the slightest effort, however, to advance his cause. He had taken no step to secure publicity in connection with his reëlection to the House. Amid the more interesting and stirring discussions of his second year, in which he had a determining share, he did nothing but carry on his work and let the result tell its own story. He spent little time in the lobbies or the cloakroom; did not go to the accustomed lunching-places of the members, spent few evenings with his colleagues, was never found where men most do congregate.

In matters of explicit party policy, he voted as a Republican. But aside from such leadings, he showed very distinctly the influence of the then occupant of the White House, Theodore Roosevelt. With personal characteristics extremely unlike those of his exemplar, he yet was following a legislative policy directly in line with the advancing pro-

gramme with which President Roosevelt was instituting a new era in national politics. Two so contrasted types would as time went on necessarily follow different paths. They would look out in different perspectives. But the true story of Calvin Coolidge will show—to the surprise, perhaps, of many who have thought they knew him — that the Roosevelt influence has continued as an effective undercurrent and is strong to-day.

Private citizens who had occasion to take up matters with him were somewhat divided in their judgment. Those who had a thorough knowledge of the subject in hand, and who were concerned with measures in which he was interested, soon found cause of thorough respect for his analytical and methodical ways. Considerable companies of people devoted to the more or less frowned-upon measures which he espoused, looked upon him as a new, long-hoped-for type of legislator. There were others, however, particularly those who had not won his support for their chosen measures, who regarded his taciturnity, his tendency to turn away, his thinness and coolness of voice and manner, as indicating things that they could not approve. Perhaps he suspected how these people felt; but he never stayed to try and reassure them.

With the completion of the first chapter of his

education in the service of the State, he settled down in Northampton with the hope of concentrating his attention upon a neglected law practice.

CHAPTER III

STATE SENATOR

He did not appear at the State House until after four years, during the last two of which he was Mayor of Northampton. His administration of this office led naturally and with very little effort on his part to his selection as senatorial candidate for a district including Northampton as its largest place and reaching out to the New York boundary line. This is one of the most rural senatorial districts in Massachusetts, and as it is strongly Republican, no campaign of consequence was necessary.

In a small body of forty members, with the experience and reputation which he had gained in the House, he was able to utilize his talents more quickly. It was also much easier for him to overcome the barriers of his reserve, and come into personal terms with his colleagues.

The general complexion of his senatorial district was so different from that which he had served in the House that it naturally affected his legislative activities. For the first year he was appropriately appointed to the Committee on Agriculture. Here he could apply the results of interests and

experience as a farmer's son in representing his constituency.

The problem of an adequate milk supply under proper sanitary standards was becoming more and more serious. At times it seemed as if the quantity of milk was going to be inadequate to meet the demands of the growing cities and manufacturing towns. At the same time, the price which the farmer himself received often seemed hardly sufficient to compensate him for his labor. The further complication was that city health authorities were urging still stricter requirements, as to personal care and material conditions, in order to secure clean milk.

Senator Coolidge very properly urged the appointment of a special commission to study and report upon this conflict of interests. The urban advocates, with their special bills, opposed this suggestion; whereupon he took the farmers' side and secured the defeat of the bills. This action was based on his own knowledge of the business of producing and selling milk.

He took a particular interest in the Massachusetts Agricultural College, which is known everywhere for its progressive policy. The spirit of the college was familiar to him, especially as on his walks when a student at Amherst College he had

often gone to the "Aggie" at the other end of the town. The annual appropriation was much contested; and, even when it passed both Houses, was vetoed by the Governor. Senator Coolidge was able, however, to retrieve the issue, and finally secured a considerably larger appropriation than had ever been voted before.

These measures marked the beginning of recognition for Mr. Coolidge by the farmers of the State as one of the most intelligent and effective friends that had ever undertaken to uphold their cause.

But his special opportunity to bring the Legislature close to the farmers came when, in the summer of his first year as member of the Senate, he took up the duties of chairman of a recess committee to study the problem of providing electric transit among the isolated towns, chiefly in the western part of the State. These places, most of which were in his own district, had remembrance of a better past. A hundred years ago, they were all self-sufficient. They produced what they needed; they used what they produced. Now factory products had displaced those of the farm and shop, while the marketing of farm crops was increasingly difficult. Population had declined; there were many abandoned farms; standards of life and character were imperilled.

A suburban Senator, Charles V. Blanchard, who was closely associated with Mr. Coolidge, sharing a room with him as this committee went from town to town, considers it one of the marked experiences of his life to have observed the penetrating sympathy and insight with which Mr. Coolidge entered into the hard and anxious problems of the farmer's lot, and to have shared the confidences that showed how transparently sincere was his purpose to serve them. Mr. Blanchard, as he looks back, is not conscious of any mystery in the ever-broadening tide of the people's trust in Calvin Coolidge. He saw it all in essence amid the veritable town-meeting atmosphere of the hearings that went on among the Massachusetts hills, when holidays were declared and everybody came to " the centre " on so unprecedented an occasion.

This was the kind of fact that Mr. Coolidge, in his native element, drew out of the witnesses:

The cost of teaming farm produce to the nearby manufacturing towns and cities amounted to a crushing tax — sometimes the equivalent of a railroad freight charge for three or four hundred miles. Ten times as much milk could be raised if there were ways of transporting it. The number of cattle which had decreased from thirty to seventy per cent and with them the necessary fertilizer,

could be greater than ever before. The tobacco crop and the ice crop could both be largely increased if there were ways of bringing transient help by the day. The output of apples, peaches, potatoes, cheese, timber, could all be much enlarged. Many small factories on the upper streams, shut down, could again be operated. The manufacturing towns themselves were hampered for lack of supplies which the farming communities could furnish.

And through it all — most movingly from two clusters of isolated towns — went the unexpressed appeal of loneliness as against an out-of-reach overflowing wealth of human interplay — not wholly unexpressed because everywhere it rose to one demand, " A way must be found so our boys and girls can attend high school."

Mr. Coolidge prepared the very able and comprehensive report, and drew up an elaborate bill based upon it, which were approved by all but one member of the committee. The available possibility was to authorize the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad to build trolley lines in this territory. This it was prepared to do. Objection was made that such a step would create a monopoly. The Democratic Governor felt that State ownership would be preferable. Mr. Coolidge's solution

— in which the people directly affected fully concurred — was to accept the tangible and practicable resource, amply guarding the public interest through careful restrictions and continuous supervision. On account of the attitude of the Governor, the project came to nothing. But in the meantime, the result has begun to be achieved in what has turned out to be a better way, through the comprehensive building of roads by the State to facilitate cheap automobile transportation. And as time has gone on, no one has been more influential in this direction than Calvin Coolidge.

But the fact that his constituency was so overwhelmingly agricultural had by no means kept him from continuing and developing his concern about the broader problems of industry and commerce.

His first year in the Senate witnessed one of the most serious strikes in the history of Massachusetts or of the country, that of the mill-workers at Lawrence. The mill-owners had studiously discouraged the efforts of the old-line trade unions to establish themselves among the operatives. The result was that they found the ever-increasing immigrant population of the city firmly under control of the I.W.W. The employees had very substantial grievances; but aside from adjusting these, there was the question of giving an acknowl-

edged foothold to the I.W.W. After the strike had continued for some time, Senator Coolidge was made chairman of a legislative committee to endeavor to resolve a situation which, besides bringing appalling financial losses, was extremely threatening to the peace and order of the community. Through the committee's good offices, a mutual adjustment was finally brought about — including better relations between the management and the regular trade unions—and Mr. Coolidge's services received a marked degree of public approval. This piece of work made him known in Greater Boston and its ring of satellite factory cities, as his agricultural work had introduced him at large to most of the rest of the State.

That interest in the pressing economic issue of unrestricted monopoly went deep with him, and was animated by an unfettered determination to secure justice, is shown clearly by his coming to the front again in behalf of the Springfield independent oil refiner against the Standard Oil Company. He took the lead in promoting an anti-monopoly bill, and amid a very marked manifestation of public interest, urged it strongly on the floor, labored earnestly with his colleagues, and this time succeeding in getting it enacted into law. His vote in favor of the bill to allow peaceful persuasion in

case of strike showed his continued readiness to provide all reasonable conditions for the operation of the trade-union principle. Moreover, he showed himself distinctly in step with the new economics by supporting the bill to establish a permanent commission to provide for the determination of minimum wages for women and minors.

Constant inclination toward laws for social betterment was shown by his support of what was then a new type of legislation involving a principle which the really conservative type of mind, not only among legislators, but even among social workers, definitely opposed. This was the widow's pension, or mother's aid, bill, the intent of which was to assist the capable mother with young children, who had lost her bread-winner, to bring up and educate her children for citizenship. The underlying theory of the bill was that the State should see to the proper rearing of its children, and that it could, in presumably every case, have no better agent for this purpose than the child's own mother. In other words, when little Moses was found in the bulrushes, the princess, exemplifying the government, was exceedingly fortunate when in her search for a nurse she found little Moses' own mother for that service. Mr. Coolidge was chairman of the committee which put this project on its way to become law.

In his second year in the Senate, he was chairman of the Committee on Railroads. Railroad administration was then and is to-day the most vital public question before the people of New England. The New Haven road, particularly, and nearly all the others, were finding themselves on the verge of bankruptcy. His committee framed a series of bills, which went through various crises, but were all finally enacted. This result was ascribed largely to Mr. Coolidge's thorough study and careful work.

In this comprehensive effort he was able to express one of his deepest convictions, that the sound legislative process can reconcile conflicting interests and redound to the good of all concerned. A representative of the railway trainmen said: "In all the years I have been going up Beacon Hill, Cal Coolidge is the squarest man I ever met." And the president of a railroad paid this tribute: "If I had a dispute with my men and Coolidge were the arbitrator, I would be glad to have the men be represented by any lawyer they chose; and I would be willing to leave my side of the case in his hands without making any plea at all."

A final important service as a Senator in the ranks was his leading part in revising the financial system of the cities of the State, and establish-

ing a required scheme of budgeting and accounting that has done much to bring city administration in Massachusetts to a new and higher level.

This very exceptional record, accomplished with so much thoroughness, smoothness, and precision, reflecting a broad outlook, expressing a practical administrative sense, and illustrating at the same time sound judgment, insight, and courage, set Mr. Coolidge out as the leading mind of the Senate, and indicated him as a prospective presiding officer of that body. This tendency of opinion was strongly sustained by the State House representatives of the press. They had come to recognize in him a most satisfying source of news that had substance to it. It is the reporters' testimony that he could tell you all about a bill, what was in it, what was around it, what was underneath it. Few men within a period of ten years had a more intimate knowledge of the work of all the State departments. It would have been hard to find his match for recognized ability to judge the future working of legislation, and anticipate its full results.

During the summer there had been some suggestion that the Senate President would not be a candidate before his district, and Mr. Coolidge had taken a few steps to secure support as his successor. However, he did stand again. Very un-

expectedly this presiding officer was defeated, largely through the determined opposition of a woman who was a powerful campaigner for woman suffrage, which he had opposed.

As soon as Mr. Coolidge learned in Northampton about the turn in events, he took the noon train for Boston, got in touch with most of his colleagues, and by the next evening had enough signed pledges to insure his choice as President of the Senate. This gave the whole State to understand — what was already well known to close observers — that this quiet, ostensibly slow-moving person, possessed the gift of swift, certain, and complete action when the time for action came.

Mr. Coolidge had developed a singularly clear conception of legislative principles and procedure. He had often been called to take the chair, and was prepared by actual practice. His election to the position was, therefore, accepted as satisfactory by all hands. It has sometimes been said by persons tracing Mr. Coolidge's career that this was simply one of many happy chances that have come to him. As a matter of fact, he would certainly have been elected presiding officer of the Senate the following year in any case.

In taking the chair, Mr. Coolidge made a speech which has already probably been as often quoted

as any other in American history, with the exception of Lincoln's "Gettysburg Address." There are those who at once expressed the judgment that it would have a permanent place among our public utterances. It carries the breadth and the compactness of his thought; and suggests that balanced judgment which has always made him neither a conservative nor a radical, but a due admixture of both. The following passage is not mere exhortation; it embodies a political credo; and his career, before and since, has been a continuous factual embodiment of it:

> Do the day's work. If it be to protect the rights of the weak, whoever objects, do it. If it be to help a powerful corporation better to serve the people, whatever the opposition, do that. Expect to be called a standpatter, but don't be a standpatter. Expect to be called a demagogue, but don't be a demagogue. Don't hesitate to be as revolutionary as science. Don't hesitate to be as reactionary as the multiplication table. Don't expect to build up the weak by pulling down the strong.

As President of the Senate, he had a fuller opportunity than ever before to express his capacity as a leader. Well-informed observers have stated that no man in his position in the past generation had managed the affairs of the Senate with more tact and with less friction. He knew how to

hold a properly judicial attitude toward all proposals. He was always fair to members of the opposite party, and won their support in an unusual degree. He guided deliberations rather than shaped conclusions. Yet when the time came to expedite business, he could do it marvellously. When tactics of delay were attempted, he knew how to use the steam-roller. He kept a continuously firm grip on the whole situation, and could dispose of a clearly ill-judged measure with a word, or be just as ready to allow the fullest discussion of a measure that required to be ventilated. Always the Senate was kept at work. He won and kept the respect of all by his conception of mastery. His way was always to lead, never to drive. He is hardly remembered to have given an order; a suggestion or intimation or some turn of Yankee wit from him accomplished more.

In guiding the general policy of the Senate, he took time to think; and his answers show that he thought penetratingly. It is known that his word is always to be relied upon. He never precipitates controversy, but will always take a firm stand. Fighting is never his choice; but when a conflict is forced upon him, he goes into it, and through it to the end, with decision and precision.

Men of different grades and degrees in the Sen-

ate found themselves fascinated by a person whose mind was so free of the cross-currents of self-seeking, so emancipated by disinterestedness; who was so unfailingly considerate and generous; who in an atmosphere reeking with suspicion could not and would not think ill of others except as facts compel. He considered each Senator as having, in the name of his constituents, certain substantial rights; but along with them he required certain minimum standards of responsibility. On this basis, the blackest sheep among the Republicans, who was expected to cause him no end of embarrassment, became a manageable follower. Jim Timilty, Democratic boss of Roxbury Crossing, avowed, " Calvin Coolidge can have anything he wants from me "; and when tuberculosis ere long brought him to his deathbed, the name of Calvin Coolidge was often on his lips.

But Coolidge's caution against all doubtful situations is illustrated by a conversation related by one of his college classmates. The State Government had appointed a committee to attend the San Francisco Exposition, and he was named as one of its members. " Well, Calvin, you have a very enjoyable trip in prospect." Pause. " Not going." " Not going? How unfortunate! It would really be one of the opportunities of a life-

time." Longer pause. "See Massachusetts first." — He foresaw just what happened: that this would become a junket, and discredit all concerned.

In the autumn of 1914, at the end of his first year as President of the Senate there came to him a very important duty — significant both in its backward and its forward look. On account of the split in the Republican ranks caused by the Progressive Party movement, the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor were Democrats. The President of the Senate was therefore the ranking Republican officer of the State. This was one reason why Mr. Coolidge was selected as chairman of the committee to write the Republican Party platform for the coming State election. Another reason, and a more significant one, was that he was regarded as the proper person to frame a statement of proposals which would help to bring Republicans and Progressives once more into a common fold. His whole career in the Legislature had shown that, while a loyal party man, he was in no sense under party domination. In most of his legislative undertakings he had been free and original in working out solutions for the problems in hand. Indeed, nearly all of his record would have fitted vitally into a Progressive Party programme. It was characteristic of him to say, amid this situa-

tion, "Wiser counsels have not been confined to either of our past divisions."

This platform pledged the Republican Party to "the continued support of every means of compulsory and public education, cultural, vocational, and technical; merited retirement pensions, aid to dependent mothers, healthful housing and fire protection, reasonable hours and conditions of labor, and amplest protection to the public health; working-men's compensation and its extension to interstate railroads; official investigation of the price of necessities; pure food, with honest weight and measure; homestead commission; city planning; the highest care and efficiency in the administration of all hospital and penal institutions; probation and parole; care and protection of children and the mentally defective; rural development; urban sanitation; State and National conservation and reclamation; and every other public means for social welfare consistent with the sturdy character and resolute spirit of an independent, self-supporting, self-governing, free people."

These commitments affecting community well-being are here set down, because they represent the pivot on which the career of Calvin Coolidge has swung, reaching back over his work as a legislator, back into his public service in Northampton, to

which we shall presently turn, and less obviously, but hardly less certainly, reaching forward into his administration as Governor and as President. The only real qualification upon the continuance of this attitude came of the inevitable moderating effect of the experience of life and the inevitably changed perspective that comes to every one under administrative burdens.

This statement will be challenged, particularly on the basis of a suggestion contained in Mr. Coolidge's first address as President of the Senate, and followed up more fully by him in later statements. When he came forward closer to executive responsibility, he found, as every public executive does, that the making of laws has got far ahead of the capacity of government to put them into effect. He began to be deeply impressed with the importance of giving administration a chance to catch up. But there are definite qualifications to be made upon this position of Mr. Coolidge as things actually worked out in his experience. From now on he was, speaking broadly, restricted to the flat approval or disapproval of measures in their ultimate stage. The facts will show that there was little if any diminution in the volume of bills passed, and he could rarely act to diminish it through the veto power. As a matter of fact, of

the legislative projects which he favored from this time forward the proportion of those which had a distinct bearing on social well-being and progress is as great as before. If they have not so much to do with the regulation by the State of large-scale business enterprise, it is because the needed fundamental principles of such regulation had, with his help, got themselves established. Particularly as to public-service corporations he felt that State supervision, which he assisted in working out, should be trusted and encouraged.

It was to be expected under the circumstances that Mr. Coolidge should begin to be spoken of as a candidate for the lieutenant-governorship. Here, as in the case of the Senate presidency, it appeared that he might have to wait. But again the way was cleared. The Lieutenant-Governor, now Republican, made the mistake of entering the lists for gubernatorial nomination against a much stronger candidate. And a new factor entered Mr. Coolidge's career in the person of Mr. Frank W. Stearns, which was destined to add a whole new dynamic element to the forces that were bringing about his progress.

Meanwhile we have passed by the formative stages in this steadily advancing development. Inquiring minds do not turn toward the earlier years

of a public man until he has begun to have a significant part in the large scene. Then the public gaze reverts to his antecedents, looking at them always from the point of view, and in the compelling atmosphere, of the full developing or developed career. It selects for emphasis those of the earlier, closer-range phases of the life which tend to explain and illuminate the expressions, the acts, the characteristics, that make it part of current history. Accepting this "backward errand of the mind" as the normal process, we now turn first to the immediate home setting of professional life and earlier varied local public service, leading up to a first suggestive experience of administrative duties in the office of mayor of a small neighborly city community. And then, tracing the steps of intensifying curiosity with regard to a new figure in the large drama of the State, we shall go back further to the mountain village of boyhood days with its impressive influences of discipline, affection, and noble tradition, and to the college town, where were found rare guidance and inspiration to the larger life. In pausing to catch something of the spirit of those two old homes, after tracing thus much of the effort and achievement of his public career, we are following Mr. Coolidge himself; for he has continued to seek at each of them refreshment and renewal for the task.

CHAPTER IV

NORTHAMPTON

In the last days of his college course at Amherst, Calvin Coolidge and one of his classmates were reclining on the grass of the campus talking about the impending future. He was asked where he was going to study law. He answered, " Northampton is just across the river. It's the county town. I think I'll get into a lawyer's office over there." This classmate remembers his reply as typical of the kind of purpose which has always undertaken one step at a time. It appears, however, that he had not put all his eggs into one basket. Senator Dillingham, of Vermont, in recent years, has told of having received a letter from young Coolidge asking to be taken into his law office in Montpelier. Mr. Dillingham was ill at the time. When he recovered, he sent a favorable reply; but an arrangement had already been entered into with Hammond and Field in Northampton. Both Amherst graduates, and always attendants at the college commencement, they were attracted to Coolidge by evidence he had shown on a class-day platform of observation, wit, and wisdom.

Northampton had been a city only about ten years. It is distinguished among New England towns for its past and its present. Here Jonathan Edwards, great philosopher and great evangelist, preached from 1727 to 1750. Here George Bancroft, the historian, for some years, beginning in 1824, carried on the Round Hill School, the first serious original attempt in the United States to put secondary education on the plane where it belonged. The beginnings of a short-lived law school were made in this period, and during its brief existence one of its students was Franklin Pierce, the only New England President between John Quincy Adams and Calvin Coolidge. Smith College was established in 1875, and has now, with two thousand students, become the largest college for women in the world.

On the other hand, there are about four thousand employees engaged in Northampton industries, the chief of these being the Corticelli, Belding, and McCallum silk mills. There is a considerable Irish element in the population, as in all New England industrial communities, with French Canadians, Italians and Poles steadily increasing.

The city — which, in spite of its twenty-two thousand people, seems like an overgrown village — is situated on a plateau looking out over the

Connecticut valley, having Mount Tom on the south, the Holyoke range at an angle to the southeast, and lower hills making the horizon on the other sides. Apart from the business centre, the streets are all beautifully shaded, and often arched, with elms; many of them wind picturesquely; the lay of the land has a pleasing variety of levels; and the homes of different degrees all bear the marks of comfort and self-respect.

Mr. Coolidge carried on his legal studies so assiduously that he was able to pass his examinations for the bar within twenty months. He commended himself to his preceptors so thoroughly — though his silence mystified them — that very early in his career as a lawyer they were able to assure their clients that they could trust any opinion he was willing to give. He already impressed observers with his painstaking thoroughness, and particularly with that phase of his reserve which kept him from making any statement the accuracy of which he was not prepared to sustain.

Messrs. Hammond and Field are men of high standing as attorneys. As is likely to be the case in smaller communities, they were definitely interested in politics and public service. The office was in fact a lively centre of participation in local public affairs. At the time when Mr. Coolidge was

pursuing his studies, Mr. Hammond was District Attorney and Mr. Field was first an Alderman and then Mayor. Both of them afterwards became judges. Mr. Coolidge has said that it was Mr. Field's example as an Alderman that first fired him with political ambitions.

It is an interesting fact that nearly all the Presidents of the United States have come from the kind of place which, while large enough to have various types of population and of interests, is small enough so that there is opportunity to touch, serve, and be affected by them all.

It was at Mr. Field's suggestion that in 1899 young Mr. Coolidge became a candidate for the lower of the two branches of the City Council. Election to this office began the successive steps of his ascent. The work of the Council was exceedingly modest. The meagre records show that he was on hand at every meeting. There is a newspaper report of a protest made by him to employing architects from Springfield, the local metropolis, to plan an extension on a schoolhouse. He held that Northampton architects were equal to drawing architectural plans, and added, characteristically, " especially when we are building only an addition." An order for three hundred and fifty dollars to cover the expense of a visit from

President McKinley had the support of the President-to-be.

For the next two years, he took the opportunity of combining public office and the practice of the law, by winning the election as city solicitor; and a little later he was appointed, and acted for a short period, as clerk of courts. By this time he had become well enough known, and had sufficiently qualified, to become chairman of the Republican City Committee, after having served for a period as a member in the ranks. In his committee service, he learned and exhibited the importance of doing as thorough work in a purely voluntary position as he was accustomed to do professionally or as he would do in public office. Here he began to achieve that mastery of the effective principles of campaigning which has so remarkably stood by him.

In these early political experiences, Mr. Coolidge showed the capacity that has been conspicuous always since, for being at the same time loyal to his party without ceasing to be both fair and friendly to the other side. When elected to the Common Council, he made common cause with some Democratic members who have been his admirers ever since. It is impossible not to trace the undercurrent of human feeling in the follow-

ing, with which he anticipated the members of the opposite party in the Council, after the death of one of their number, Patrick Francis Dooling:

> *Resolved:* That the City Government of Northampton mourns the loss of a man who sought earnestly to discharge the duties of his office for the best interests of the city, who always had at heart the welfare of his fellow-laborers, and who thought first of his friends and last of himself.

He never failed, from this first campaign onward, to be supported by a considerable proportion of Democratic votes.

His bold steps in this direction were especially significant considering that he was the official head of the party in his city, with the reins of party administration in his hands. Notwithstanding these facilities, and in spite of his disinclination toward the ordinary sociabilities, he made it an increasing practice to go around among the voters personally to see them in their homes and places of employment. In the workshops of Phil. Gleason and James Lucey, both Democrats, where one shod horses, the other humans, were places in which he could lay aside his reserve, could meet the type of men whom he had known familiarly in the country, and establish the kind of understanding that

villagers have with one another. His opponents sometimes accused him of "pussyfooting." He was coming forward as a postulant for public office just as other ambitious young lawyers had been accustomed to do; but his method was a more thorough one, not only in winning the office, but, as time was increasingly to show, in the fulfilment of its functions.

After being city solicitor, he took up more determinedly than ever the building of a private practice. He had his mind bent on getting money together with which to be married. By the end of the year 1905, he was ready for the step which has meant so much to his happiness and progress. Miss Grace Goodhue was, like himself, from Vermont. Her home was at Burlington, where her father was inspector of steamboats on Lake Champlain and a deacon in the College Street Congregational Church. Even as a high school girl brimming with life, she was interested in ways of helping the unfortunate. After graduating at the State University in 1902, where she was to the fore, not only in her class-work, but in various forms of student activity and amusement — social, dramatic, musical, athletic — she wished to enter some form of direct service to human need. She was very ready, therefore, for an opportunity, which came to her

through a college friend, to join the staff of the long-established Clark School for the Deaf at Northampton. Mr. Coolidge became acquainted with her through the family of the steward of the school, with whom he was a boarder.

Not a small fraction of the imposing total of Coolidge lore in the shape of more or less apocryphal anecdotes centre about Mr. Coolidge's summary and undeniably unique attitude toward all that had to do with the approaches to matrimony. The humorous gifts of many have also been taxed to set off the appropriateness of Mrs. Coolidge's transition from the old charge to the new. The best of all these latter products, sufficiently appreciated by Mr. Coolidge to be preserved among the newspaper clippings in his scrapbooks, runs somewhat as follows:

On the evening before the home wedding there were naturally great preparations at the Goodhues'. A company of friends, older and younger, were on hand to help. One lady, coming in a little late, had immediately proceeded to busy herself with the decorations. After a little, her curiosity was aroused by a sandy-haired young man, who, as she observed him from time to time, took no part whatever in the general antiphony of voices. Finally she put her query to Mrs. Goodhue —

"That young man standing by himself in the corner — is he one of Grace's pupils?"

In any case, the new tour of duty which this young woman undertook began and continued to be fulfilled in a way to command the highest respect and admiration of all observers.

The consummation of Mr. Coolidge's hopes, perhaps by so fully occupying his mind, was the cause of the only political defeat that he has ever suffered. Before going away to Burlington, he had entered as a candidate for the school board. Thinking that, as against the only opponent in the field, his prospects of election were satisfactory, and expecting to conduct any necessary canvass after he returned with his wife, he easily let school board matters fade into the background. At the last moment, another candidate unchivalrously entered the lists. After Mr. Coolidge's honeymoon was over, it was too late for him to withdraw from a hopeless three-cornered contest, and the Democrat was elected. Years afterward he corrected an interviewer who suggested that he had always been successful in his contests. "Always but once," he said — and added what discloses one of his most dominant traits — "but I was always prepared for defeat." Not to be too dependent on victory has always been one of his surest equipments for it.

As chairman of the City Committee it fell to his duty to preside at a party rally at which the Governor was to be the principal speaker. The meeting was large and enthusiastic. His introduction of the Governor was characteristic in several ways. It suggested his interest in the campaigning art, his attention to the very numerous political articles in the magazines at that time, his inclination to brevity; and it gave one of many indications that he was studying the method and spirit of the then leading figure in the national political scene. He said:

> The frost is on the pumpkin, but it does not seem to be in City Hall. . . . Years ago, when I thought what I saw in the magazines was true, I read an article on "Campaigning with Roosevelt." It told how to preside at a rally. The rule was that when a speaker was already known to waste no time in introducing him. I now propose to try that rule on the author of that article. Watch me. His Excellency, Curtis Guild, Governor of the Commonwealth.

With his home established, he decided in 1908 to come forward as a candidate for the Legislature. The district was in reality Democratic. His opponent's plan of campaign was to bring the contest out into the open and thus solidify party loyalty. He challenged Coolidge to a joint debate. This challenge was ignored, the time being more effec-

tively spent in personal conversation with doubtful voters. Mr. Coolidge's election by a small majority the first year, and a larger one the following year, established his reputation as a most discerning and effectual campaigner.

There had been a definite effort to represent him as being the friend of the "interests," the only apparent ground for this being his connection with the office of Hammond and Field. This point of view changed very decidedly so far as it obtained in the home constituency. At a somewhat later stage, the Democratic daily referred back to his legislative record and said:

> Rep. Coolidge's attitude on the anti-injunction bill, together with his advocacy of some kind of anti-monopoly or anti-discrimination bill, suggests that some of us may have been mistaken in assuming that his sympathies were not with the "underdog" in both cases. Certainly his statement of the case of labor against tyrannical courts is most admirable and founded upon good English law, as he cites, for what sensible, just, discriminating mind can find warrant for the past interference by subservient judges with the right of free speech through injunctions?

During his second year in the Legislature he was able to justify and reënforce his position in Northampton as counsel and vice-president of the Nono-

tuck Savings Bank by his important work in recodifying the banking laws of the State.

It would have been a natural step for Mr. Coolidge to have gone directly from the lower to the higher branch of the State Legislature. But the incumbent of the senatorship for the district was not yet ready to move on; and it has been one of Mr. Coolidge's unfailing rules not to manifest any signs of impatience with the person who may be occupying the rung of the ladder next higher than his. This situation led, after a short interval of close attention to his profession, to his being brought forward by the unanimous action of the party counsellors as a candidate for Mayor. The meeting of the City Committee was a very representative one. Nearly every one spoke. It was felt that the city would be fortunate to secure for its mayor a man of the ability of Mr. Coolidge. In reply he said that he would not have accepted if there was to be a contest for the nomination, as the office meant a sacrifice both of professional interests and home life; but a call like this from all classes should be heeded. He knew that the contest for the election would be difficult enough, as Northampton of later years had been selecting Democratic mayors.

It is clear by this time that everybody in the city

recognized in Mr. Coolidge surpassing qualities as a political leader. The retiring Democratic incumbent cautioned his hearers not to forget that they were organizing against one of the shrewdest politicians and hardest workers in the city. The Democratic daily said:

> Those who know the capabilities and the experience of Calvin Coolidge as a campaigner, and have seen him again and again rise to the occasion with vigor and success, are not wasting their energies predicting the success of Mr. Bicknell.

Mr. Coolidge's progress in the campaign was not owing to the usual ways of approach. In the announcement of one of his meetings, people were invited to come out and get acquainted. The reply of the opposition was, "Why hasn't he got acquainted before this?" At the very moment, he was pursuing his characteristic method, apparently so alien to his temperament, of making a widespread personal canvass. Surprise tactics were used which had a real effect on the hard-fought result. The committee made a show of working hard in the three outer wards where the Coolidge strength lay; but, as a matter of fact, the thoroughgoing effort was being made in the inner and apparently hostile wards. Mr. Bicknell, though the head of the Democratic ticket, declared for no

license, which at that time in Northampton was hardly considered to be within the range of practical politics. Mr. Coolidge declined to take up the issue. It appeared that, following the custom of the best lawyers at the county seat, he had acted as attorney in real estate transactions for men in the liquor business; and this was used against him.

Mr. Bicknell made an appeal to the fraternal organizations, of some of which he was an active member. Mr. Coolidge was a member of none; and continues to-day to be an almost solitary exception among men in political life in not being connected with any secret order but his college fraternity. His legislative record attached many working-men to him, and, with the support of not a few party Democrats, the upshot was that he was elected; but by a narrow margin.

In acknowledging the tribute of citizens after the victory, he said: "Whatever office may come to me, there will never be any that will fill my heart with such pride as I felt when you my fellow citizens chose me as your mayor." He emphasized the fact that there had come to him supporters from every creed and every nationality. He had made his appeal solely to the enfranchised American citizens who put citizenship above party, and it was to them alone he attributed the result.

Mr. Coolidge's inaugural address as Mayor was thoroughly characteristic in thought and style, and would bear publication with his later addresses. He felt the citizens ought to find satisfaction in that Northampton is " entirely unvexed by many of the great problems of local government which are a heavy burden upon some of the cities of our Commonwealth and many of those of our Nation." Such a situation " ought to encourage us to the working out of what we may call the humanities of municipal administration." " This ideal character and poise of our public temperament demands the highest tone in our public service." " Northampton has reached the point where citizens are demanding more than material welfare." He makes the address altogether his own by the remark, " In considering the matters to which I wish to direct your attention, it has been my purpose to be brief."

His programme was at once enterprising and cautious, comprehensive and practical. He proposed that as a proper sequel to the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Northampton, a Public Improvement Commission should be created as a living monument, which should coördinate and unify by means of advisory powers the work of the various departments having to do with the material well-being of the city. " It would be their province

to formulate a very broad and general plan of improvement, the details of which could be conjointly worked out from year to year by our various departments — each year as it can be afforded, much or little, but always working toward the consummation of a definite plan." This proposal marks one of the first official espousals of the idea of a city planning board among American cities.

He urged a comprehensive programme for the paving of streets and sidewalks, including " careful measuring and mapping, study of the best materials for each situation, careful recording of all work done, its cost and the method employed — each section of work to be part of a scheme for dealing with all our streets as a unit, filling in the parts in the light of the whole plan." " In short," he says, " I recommend that the care of our streets and sidewalks be treated as a manufacturing proposition rather than a parcelling out of municipal utilities."

Financially, his policy was one of insistent sound economy — but subject always to the constructive end in view. " If expenses can be cut down let us do so, but most of all let us maintain the city equipment at its fullest efficiency."

The address closes with a keynote which echoes through all Coolidge pronouncements, " Let us each remember that the sole benefit that can accrue

to us, whether it receive public recognition or no, is what we give the city in personal service and personal sacrifice."

Some progress was made with the project of a Public Improvement Commission. President Seelye became one of its members. But Mr. Coolidge's term of service as Mayor was short for the accomplishment of a result which calls for a new point of view on the part of many officials. However, to a large extent he took the place of such a commission himself. He followed closely the work of the different departments, interested himself in the schools through personal visits, saw that the teachers' salaries were raised, broadened the work of the board of health. He improved and developed the police and fire departments. He followed his plan for the streets so as to accomplish notable improvements. He kept all departments within their appropriations, avoided bond issues, and at the end of two years had not only lowered the taxes, but had reduced the city debt by $90,000. He made a special point of going about freely among the citizens in order to learn their needs and hopes, and thus from day to day serve them more effectually.

It is of exceeding importance in understanding Mr. Coolidge's career to realize the significance of

this first distinctively administrative service. He is characteristically the executive, and what he contributed as legislator and publicist, indicative and important as it is, has its full interpretation only in administrative achievement. The leadership in first-hand public activities in his own community gave the foothold for his later ascent to the seats of the mighty.

The present writer was an officer in the Boston city government for a decade during the period of municipal reconstruction throughout the country following the spasmodic reform movements of the nineties. He was in some ways closely associated with the third Josiah Quincy, who was Mayor from 1896 to 1900; and studied with continuous care every phase and bearing of that administration. There were two or three mayors in other cities who entered upon more striking enterprises than Mr. Quincy, but there was none who exemplified more clearly the application of fresh creative intelligence to the development of a city — none who was more genuinely, and in a human sense, a constructor. With some profound differences, Mr. Coolidge is temperamentally much as Mr. Quincy was. Allowing for the two different sets of circumstances, Calvin Coolidge's municipal policies, his formulation of them, and his ways of getting

them brought to pass, are almost precisely what Josiah Quincy's would have been. And one may suggest that Northampton, with its everyday, close-range interests, is vastly more representative of American life than the incoherent metropolitan centres, with their luxury and poverty, their highly specialized native and unassimilated immigrant assortments.

It is of especial significance in this connection that Mr. Coolidge constantly emphasizes the motive of service. That was the keynote of the new national movement of municipal reform and progress — that government commends itself to the people not only by being honest, but by being broadly serviceable. It was in this way that the people were to enter into public interests and share public responsibilities. It was this conception which then, and always, has made Mr. Coolidge take satisfaction in being a politician. "Being a politician," according to him, "is simply trying to perform one's public duties." He has often quoted Tom Reed's remark: "A statesman is simply a dead politician." His appeal for the voters' support, whether made publicly or privately, has been through (1) statement of working principles, (2) outline of developing policy. From the beginning his political utterance is scrupulously free of any

flattery of the electorate. In his second mayoralty campaign, notwithstanding his record in the Legislature, he was accused by his opponents of being too considerate of the public service corporations. He pointed out that the supervision and control of these corporations was at the State House, not at City Hall. He was simply following his characteristic method of working with them in order to get for the city the most satisfactory results possible under the conditions that existed.

The general sentiment was that he had been the best Mayor in the history of Northampton as a city. Of course not a few undervalued him. On the other hand, his progress thus far, including his service as Representative, started inquiries about him through the western part of the State as a prospective Senator. There began to be suggestions that destiny was working with him. Here is a friend's humorous reminiscence: "Fate was impersonated by the people of Northampton. Coolidge seemed to know his way about, and may have nudged the elbow of Fate at times; but the people got into the habit of looking toward him when there was a position of trust to be filled." He had the power to make his talents trusted. They found that he showed a peculiar quality of respect for every office held by him; it was not used as a

stepping-stone. He not only made no enemies; but he went out of his way after victory to establish relations with those who had been unfair. He understood that a person never forgives the one he has wronged. His opponent in the first mayoralty campaign had forgotten himself in the heat of the contest. The Mayor-elect, receiving from him a formal note of congratulation, replied,

My dear Harry: Good friends — the high esteem of your fellows without regard to party — these you have — they are more than any office.

A truly significant prophecy was that of W. Murray Crane, at the time United States Senator. As Governor, a few years before, Mr. Crane had established the precedent of the municipal ownership of subways in Boston, a step that went far to determine the same policy in New York. He was head of the firm which makes the paper for the currency of the United States and some twenty other nations; but was quite as distinctively a farmer. In both capacities he was the much-besought friend and adviser of everybody in his region. He therefore knew men, and knew the time of day. Learning that a business acquaintance would be going to Northampton now and then to visit his daughter in Smith College, Mr. Crane said to him:

"Find out all you can about a young man named Coolidge. You'll save trouble in looking him up later. There is one of the coming men of this country."

It could not be said, however, in the ordinary sense, that he knew the people of Northampton, or they him. He rather pathetically observed: "My profession keeps me in my office; politics gives one the opportunity of going among you." Politics was to him more than an occupation; it was a kind of open sesame into human relations for a very human person to whom the way of direct human interchange was hard.

Mr. Coolidge said that the spirit of Northampton gave him push, and this statement particularly refers to his invaluable experience as Mayor. Here he was put in a position of inevitable interplay with all the facts and forces of the city and with many representatives of all sorts and conditions of its people. Here was the turning-point which rounded up earlier public activity that had to do with devising rather than executing, and prepared the way for the rapidly increasing responsibilities of administrative leadership that were to be his. It is interesting to remember that only two previous Presidents of the United States went through this intensely actual, and at the same time broadly suggestive, practice school which the mayoralty of a

city represents — Andrew Johnson and Grover Cleveland.

Not only as Mayor, but before and after this experience, Mr. Coolidge took a personal interest in the city's unofficial agencies of well-being and progress. For many years, and down to the time of the vice-presidency, he continued to be an active member of the board of the People's Institute, which was established and developed under the lead of George W. Cable, the novelist. With the coöperation of some two hundred Smith College students, this has become one of the most interesting and important community centres in the country. As Mayor, Mr. Coolidge more than once warmly endorsed the work of the Civic League in its efforts to keep up the city's standards of neatness, cleanliness, and sanitation. The Board of Trade he commended as an increasingly important civic factor. He said that over all this was undoubtedly the influence of Smith College. President Seelye remembers with special satisfaction his service with Mr. Coolidge on various public-spirited committees, where, according to this Nestor of the city, he was constantly showing the combined results of insight and prudence.

Progress at the law had, of course, suffered. It did not cease to be the main issue, however, both as

a chosen calling and as a means of livelihood. Mr. Coolidge had studied law in the old-fashioned way: and his practice was of the kind that goes with a large country town in a region combining agriculture with small-scale manufacturing. He was a consulting lawyer, and seldom appeared in court. It is sufficiently obvious that the qualities which he had so strikingly expressed in the public service were of a kind which would have brought him forward steadily in his profession. But such opportunities of training and experience as Northampton afforded were much more adapted to large success in politics than in the law. No law school could have equipped a young man for political realities so well as the office of Hammond and Field with the constant round of personal and community contacts which it afforded. And no period of apprenticeship for the broadest political career could have more fully provided the cardinal points of opportunity and test than that through which Calvin Coolidge led up to and completed his administration as Mayor.

It happened that there were not a few men of exceptional intellectual attainments who knew Mr. Coolidge as a neighbor. Not easily accessible, he seems to have impressed them all with the sense of exceptional power in reserve. To some his reti-

cence was mysterious; to others it was not essentially different from the common habit of New England farmer folk. One Smith College professor, who often observed him as he walked to and from his office, summed up his impressions thus, "A strange man — a man of the people." Another member of the Smith faculty, Dr. Elihu Grant, now director of the graduate school at Haverford College, who lived for ten years directly opposite Mr. Coolidge, has recently told about the neighborhood and given the impressions which he formed of the man:

The street was modestly narrow, and the houses fairly near together. The women, many of whom did most of their own housework, were very friendly together. The men enjoyed each other's conversation and the children were happy playmates. . . . There were the families of the postmaster, of the Methodist minister, several teachers in Smith College, several business men. They made up a particularly compact and happy American community. There was keen interest in all the concerns of the small city. . . . I never was one of those who felt free to call him "Cal," but always thought of him as "Mr. Coolidge." His capacity for hard and continuous work, his unwillingness to commit himself to any position which he had not thought out, his economies in the administration of the city's business, and his exceptional success in gaining the suffrage of his fellow-citizens of both parties without any of the usual public manifesta-

tions of the vote-getter, already marked him off from other political figures. Others had their ups and downs in the political game. He was always going up. People had confidence in him and he never went backwards from any position which he held in the respect of his fellow-townsfolk. He always seemed to have his object clearly in mind and went straight for it. His method was one of industry and persistence. If a nomination was to be secured, he often made his major efforts before the possible opposition had begun. By the time of the election, he seemed to have the whole matter discounted in his own mind so that he was fully ready to attend to business as soon as he was invited to take charge.

He has often been referred to as a man of mystery. It seems to me that there is no special mystery about him. Men of his type are not infrequently seen in New England. One finds them in the law, in the ministry and other professions, in business, and in the town-meetings. The remarkable thing about Mr. Coolidge is that he has so many of the characteristics of the type and that he has them in such perfect blend. He seeks nothing mysterious, and he neither says nor does anything mysterious. He is straight and strenuous in his quiet way. There is not a trace of affectation about him. He is natively modest. He simply does not care for unreality. He does care tremendously for the real, a real job, a real achievement. His actions always run far ahead of his words, and they are in the same direction.

Mr. and Mrs. Coolidge moved into the now famous nine-room, semi-detached frame house the

second year of their married life. Here their two sons were born, John in 1906, Calvin, Jr., in 1908. The wife and mother began her career within a small circle, attending to most of the needs of her own household, joining her intelligence and teaching skill to maternal devotion in the early nurture of her boys, and providing a precious kind of fellowship for her husband in which exceptional good judgment was joined with exceptional gaiety of heart. She was described by one of the neighbors as "kind, friendly, finding life well worth living, and seeming to want others to enjoy it." She did not connect herself with any organization other than the Edwards Congregational Church. Mr. Coolidge, though not at this time a church member, had attended the services of this church since he came to Northampton and was active in its men's club.

Mr. Coolidge's large attitude toward public office at this stage was expressed by him on an occasion which was such as to stir his inmost feelings. Some of his characteristics had exposed him then, as they have continued to expose him, to a kind of political defamation of which corruptionists and reformers are often alike guilty, that of irresponsibly throwing mud on the chance that some of it may happen to stick — hasty inference of dis-

creditable motive, license of denunciation based largely on guesswork. With reference to attacks of this kind, Mr. Coolidge declined to dignify them with a reply. What he did was to make solemn reference to those shrines of his childhood and youth at which he took to himself the motives of rectitude and courage:

> I was raised in a community of New England ideals, a community which shrank from no toil or hardship to give their children opportunities and a status which they themselves could not attain. I have felt that these opportunities called on me to perform public service. I shall not be intimidated from performing my public duties as I see them. If it costs anything to perform such duties, I should be recreant to those who reared me, I should be recreant to the teaching of that college in the Hampshire hills, if I did not say, I am willing to pay the price.

CHAPTER V

PLYMOUTH, VERMONT

CALVIN COOLIDGE is with Daniel Webster and numerous other Massachusetts public men in not being Massachusetts born. During his campaign for election as Mayor of Northampton, it was objected that he was not a native of the State and that he had lived there only fifteen years, a short period as time is measured in an old New England town. His answer may characteristically introduce us to his family traditions and his birthplace, and suggest how destiny was to reverse the first of the conclusions which he drew from the story.

I am not the first of my family to come to Northampton. Years and years ago, one of them came here with his comrades at arms, the stout yeomanry of Hampshire. They came from the plains of Saratoga, bringing a British prisoner of war. But they brought more than the body of a British general; they brought the inestimable promise of American liberty. That man here received an honorable discharge from the Revolutionary Army, and went to that town in Vermont where I was born, to become its first town clerk. I cherish that ancient tie. And I was born there in among those Green Mountains

that General Burgoyne had said were filled with the most warlike and rebellious race in America, and hung like a dark cloud on his left. I offer no apology for the place of my birth. I cannot hope to add lustre to the fame of that State; I do hope that I may leave it untarnished.

Vermont, like western Massachusetts, in the eighteenth century was the new country of the unsubdued forest to which adventurous spirits were emigrating from both the Massachusetts and the Connecticut coast; just as Vermonters, later on, began to emigrate in considerable numbers to Michigan, Wisconsin, and beyond. Its part in the Revolutionary War was dramatically expressed by Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys. With eighty-three of them he captured Fort Ticonderoga, calling for its surrender " in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." Then at Bennington — where there is the highest of all battle monuments — with his command grown to two thousand and reënforced from Massachusetts and New Hampshire, he destroyed two detachments of the British Army that was intended to cut off New England from the rest of the colonies.

The Civil War had a special meaning to Vermont. It was the first State to abolish slavery, having entered the Union on a free-soil basis. Curiously enough, Vermont was the one other Northern State

besides Pennsylvania to be invaded by an armed force of Confederates, a small band of whom came in from Canada. No State has sent a more sterling type of men as its representatives at Washington; not a few of whom have had distinguished parts in shaping the policy of the government.

It is thought that the first Coolidge came from Boston as a soldier in the Revolution to join the Green Mountain Boys, and became so much attracted by the beauty of the country that he decided to locate there after the war. The original ancestors, John and Mary, established themselves in Watertown in 1630. Their graves are in the old Watertown Cemetery. Their farm is still identified by the family name, with a Coolidge household on part of it. Calvin is of the ninth American generation. The Coolidge progeny about Boston is numerous. Not a few of them are influential, and some are distinguished. A sensational paper desiring, when Calvin Coolidge was nominated for Vice-President, to associate him with the rich, stated that he was a member of an aristocratic Boston Back Bay family. The suggestion was interesting, as this branch of the Coolidges, worthily honored in their own right by personal achievement, having the fine hereditary distinction of being in the line of Thomas Jefferson, now began to find

themselves in borrowed radiance from a remote country cousin.

In a confidential mood, after his first election as Mayor of Northampton, Mr. Coolidge told his neighbors about his early home background. He said that he attributed his success in life to New England ideals. He was reared by a father of great strength of character, who gave him a large measure of devotion and sacrifice. His own mother died when he was a boy; but as he was coming to manhood, her place was taken by a second mother whose love and patience have always been an inspiration to well-doing. He said his chief satisfaction in being chosen Mayor of Northampton was that it would bear testimony to that father and mother of the good opinion in which his fellow citizens held him.

With special appropriateness the future President was born on July fourth, in the year 1872. His own mother was of Scottish ancestry. Her family had been in this country only a generation or two. Thus he combines in himself the two British stocks of the Puritan and the Covenanter from one or the other of which nearly all our Presidents have come. There was also a Welsh ancestor, to give an assured Celtic touch; and in order that the President might be unmistakably

American, he has a dash of Indian blood. Of the two dominant strains, the Scotch could give the ruddy hue to his hair and countenance and the glowing impulses within, while it would serve with the Puritan to put a double bit on the tongue. The characters in "The Bonnie Brier Bush" learned when they came before the Lord to have their words few and well chosen, and they reserved the strong language for the Day of Judgment. The typical rural New Englander is sparing of speech so as to avoid exaggeration, or blunder, or irritation, or outright offence. He seeks the emphasis of understatement. His humor is cool and dry.

Mr. Coolidge's father and grandfather before him were successful farmers dating from the time before New England agriculture suffered so seriously in competition with the West. Their chief products of later years were milk, made into butter and cheese, and Vermont's most famous gift of nature, maple sugar, of which in some seasons they produced a ton. Mr. Coolidge has said that at home, on all ordinary occasions they had maple sugar on the table; it was only when some itinerant minister came that they had white sugar.

Both forbears have been known throughout the State for sterling character and for a kind of

leadership, counsel, and service which made people from all the regions roundabout look up to them. They were the hardy product of three hundred years' struggle with the New England climate and soil, representatives in a continuous succession of what has been called perhaps the best agricultural population that the world has ever seen. They were friends and associates of men of large affairs. Both of them were from time to time summoned, Cincinnatus-like, from the plough to serve the State; and the father was a member of the State Senate at the same time that his son was serving as Mayor. He has been town constable for forty years. As such, he often looked up legal points for the townspeople; and it was in this capacity that he was, in his farmhouse, to administer the oath of office to a President of the United States.

Plymouth is fourteen hundred feet above the sea. It is surrounded by green slopes which seem to run up into the sky. The "Notch" village, with its three farmhouses, store, school, and church, is in a valley under the shadow of one of the highest peaks in the State, and opening into vistas that look far out over the foothills that gradually decline toward the Connecticut River as it makes the boundary between Vermont and New Hampshire.

The nearness of the high ridges on the west gives that peculiar sense of great bays of luminous space behind them. From the narrow level surface of the valley, the whole scene is impressive with its magnitude, its sense of everlasting foundations, of vast uplifting forces, of a command to thought and silence. Edward E. Whiting, who writes his widely read column for the "Boston Herald," says: "If I could make ten million thoughtful men go through the town of Plymouth, I would have ten million voters for Calvin Coolidge. He is like his country, and his country is the essential soul of America." "Here," said Mr. Coolidge, to those who came to the village to greet him after his nomination for the vice-presidency, "one gets close to nature in the mountains, in the brooks, the waters of which hurry to the sea, in the lakes shining like silver in their green settings, fields tilled, not by machinery, but by the brain and hand of man."

It is such a scene as that described in Hawthorne's story, where a gentle youth grew almost unnoticed into greatness under the spell of the mountains as expressed in "The Great Stone Face." In fact, to the reader of Hawthorne, many familiar touches are recalled both by the place and the people. It will be remembered that his dramas

of the moral picturesque are developed with a minimum of dialogue.

Calvin Coolidge was born in the dwelling connected with the village store which his father kept in addition to his other interests. The boy assisted in the store as well as on the farm — on the farm he acquired the essentials of all the arts of production, in the store the elementary principles of trade. The farmhouse attic was a museum — with its spinning wheels and loom, hetchels for combing flax, Revolutionary flintlock, eighteenth-century harness, and many other souvenirs of a living past. In the store, particularly, young Calvin learned how to understand various kinds of human nature. A country store is a veritable laboratory for participation in community sentiment and local public spirit in the making, for the spontaneous exchange of public judgments as well as for the shrewd and humorous analysis of personal character and passing events.

The elder Coolidge, like his father before him, bore "the dignified and significant title of selectman." Each was continuously moderator of the town-meeting, that primordial training-school of the citizen and debating-ground about the immediate, universal realities of community existence as they take the shape of public interests.

The town-meeting, as conducted in New England — and it hardly exists elsewhere — is the only institution in America of direct democracy, as distinguished from the legislative process by elected representatives. It is possible for all the members of a small homogeneous community thus to participate in discussion and action with regard to their keenly felt interests in common — roads, education, health, the support of the poor, the protection and encouragement of local industry and trade. Here all the essential tests that politics make of intelligence and character are unsparingly applied, and judgment given in terms that all can understand. Mr. Coolidge has said that " the towns are the water-tight compartments in the ship of state." It is the town-meeting above all that can keep them ship-shape. It has been clear, since Revolutionary days, that in the town-meeting, government both receives and gives human values in the highest degree: preserves the right balance between the high incentive of each and the necessary coöperation of all.

Remembering how to a son his father's pursuits are a constantly emphasized and meaningful actuality, and constantly provocative of imitation, here was a boy that was almost literally rocked in the cradle of political liberties. And this continuous

experience was always being reënforced by the tradition from generation to generation of those who had not only carried on, within the family circle, the story of life-and-death devotion to their country in its infancy, but were continuously expressing a contemporary patriotic spirit. To relatives and neighbors, there were also constant returns, direct and indirect, from those who had emigrated into the newer States, giving rural New England always a keen sense of participation in the building of the great West; and from others who had made a direct tie with the big cities by going to seek fortune amid their tumultuous affairs.

The school and the church were also the more tangible and accepted realities to the boy because his family was directly concerned and responsible. The school in the New England village is the chief concern of the town-meeting. Especially has this been so since the time some decades ago when women came to have the vote on school questions. Young Coolidge had his elementary education in the old schoolhouse, a mile from his home, under teachers whose solid personal worth he has praised, and with his father's careful surveillance. When the time came for more advanced studies, he went to the Black River Academy, which was later the high school, at Ludlow, the nearest town with rail-

road connections. From here he came home twice a week. Afterwards he spent a year at St. Johnsbury Academy to complete his preparation for Amherst College.

The constituency of the church was not large enough for the maintenance of a regular minister. As often as preaching could be arranged for, the Coolidge home was the minister's abiding-place. Calvin's mother's influence upon him as a child is suggested by the devotion to her memory which leads him always to have with him a daguerreotype of her at the age of twenty. His grandmother, who watched over him after his mother's death, read and quoted the Bible to him so often amid her work that it became as "the alphabet of his language." She took charge of the Sunday School, a duty that was later assumed by Mr. Coolidge, the father. The family was exceptional, even in its environment, for strictness in matters of faith and conduct. It held loyally by the New England tradition. James Russell Lowell once said that the Puritans had an Old Testament religion because they led an Old Testament life — they left spiritual slavery to gain a land of promise; alike the forces of nature and the foes of the inner life filled their days and years with struggle and conflict. Life was a battle, and their thoughts were constantly

engaged upon the right ordering of it. Mr. Coolidge has said that "Vermont men believed in their responsibility to the Almighty, and saw in it the foundation of liberty."

He has the trail in his own experience of the conflicts that go with the spiritual heredity of the New Englander. In a remarkable mood of self-revelation, he once explained to a friend how difficult it had been for him as a boy to meet people. "Most of the visitors would sit with Father and Mother in the kitchen, and the hardest thing in the world was to have to go through the kitchen door and give them a greeting. By fighting hard, I used to manage to get through that door. I'm all right with old friends, but every time I meet a stranger, I have to go through the old kitchen door, back home, and it's not easy." As the symbol of the issues of a life, this has in it the germ of great possibilities for better or for worse. His powers of clean-cut, objective cerebration, and his facility in precipitating action, suggest how the better possibilities have been realized.

The serious handicap to his later boyhood from the loss of his mother was emphasized a little later when his only sister, and the only other child in the family, passed away. Thus he was without the strongest ties of feminine influence during most

of his adolescent years. It was to his advantage that both of the secondary schools which he attended were co-educational; but he was not of those who easily made acquaintance with the girl students.

There was a characteristic strain of mischief in his disposition, and, though playmates were few, it managed to find outlet from time to time. But it should be recognized that he had in terms of reality a remarkable variety of interests of which play often creates only the semblance. This is especially true where a boy's curiosity, ingenuity, and spontaneity are constantly challenged by every aspect of nature. There is here nature's own continuous, varied, and coördinated training of mind, senses, and muscles.

In spite of all that is of an ennobling tendency amid a scene like that in which Calvin Coolidge grew up, it is a commonplace to say that in many instances a small community in a mountain valley, fourteen miles from a railroad, is only too likely to show signs of decadence. The influences surely to counteract any such tendency were in the Coolidges' family life. They remained where they were, instead of emigrating to the West, as they were tempted to do, because they were, on the whole, of the successful and the wholesomely satisfied. They steadily maintained their high stand-

ards for the personal conduct of life, for assiduous industry, and for thrift, as well as for good citizenship and public service. All the pursuits of life constantly had direction and reënforcement through the family's continuous unity of interests. Calvin Coolidge said: "My folks are happy and contented. They belong to themselves, live within their income, and fear no man." Their story may almost be epitomized in his own record as a boy on the farm. His father states that when he was told to do a certain piece of work it was always done; he never had to be told but once. He did not leave his work incomplete; he habitually carried it to a finish. He could get an exceptional amount of sap out of a maple tree. The various chores, including milking and getting in wood, occupied the beginning and end of the day. After he went away from home to school, he would return at planting-time to help his father. He would put on the working frock and boots that had been worn by his grandfather, and "then there would be some ploughing done in a few hours."

His father was often away from home on public duty, and then, so far as Calvin was available, the responsibility of the place fell on him. Moreover, a part of the territory under cultivation had been given to Calvin by his grandfather, and this was

a special stimulus. In due time, the father came to feel that his son could manage the farm as efficiently as he. LeRoy Beaulieu, the French economist, familiar with long agricultural tenures in a family, has said that such cumulative experience in meeting and overcoming all the farmer's problems is sufficient to develop capacity for statesmanship.

On rainy days, Calvin developed skill in cabinetmaking; some of his products are still proudly displayed at the old home. In his leisure time after work and study, he would be deep in a book; and his strongest leaning was toward colonial history. Note that here, and at most other points in his boyhood career, his enterprise of mind and will was elicited by a peculiarly direct appeal of actuality. The work to be done, the things to be made, the goods to be sold, were all part of the fabric of use and, for the most part, of necessity. He lived amid the scenes of the history which he was reading. He had in the words of father and grandfather, and almost as if from participants of his own kith and kin, the tradition, the call of the blood, from the struggles that bitterly paid the price of American civil and religious liberty — which so many of its beneficiaries so easily take for granted.

A résumé of the variety and quality of the educational influences surrounding him, the fact of actual participation in terms of family and neighborhood in all the elementary pursuits that go to make up civilization, will lead to the conclusion that Calvin Coolidge went through a kind of kindergarten for moulding the imagination and shaping the purpose of a citizen and statesman which could not be paralleled by any contrived curriculum however fully developed it might be. Certainly none of the present or proposed systems for the early training of youth could match the essential values of his home with its varied unity of interests — his community with its many-sided contacts, his activities, the panorama of nature about him.

As a matter of fact, some of the most modern of them would seem to have developed their necessarily artificial framework out of what was distinctive of his early training. Professor John Dewey, also a Vermonter, undoubtedly followed such clues in creating the experimental school in Chicago, based on the racial occupations, which has stimulated so much of the recent progress in elementary education.

There was an historic interview between a New England clergyman and educator, Dr. John P. Gulliver, and Abraham Lincoln during Lincoln's

Eastern trip in the campaign of 1860, in which some ultimate educational values of Lincoln's early experiences and efforts are brought out, and by Dr. Gulliver given a surpassing rating. This suggests the spirit in which the first stage in the life of Calvin Coolidge should be estimated, and the next stage with its large enlightenment of personality approached.

CHAPTER VI

AMHERST COLLEGE

In conversation and in public utterance, Calvin Coolidge has repeatedly declared that he owes more to the instruction and inspiration that came to him at Amherst College than to any other influence.

The spirit of the college, in several ways, provided a congenial transition from the influences of his childhood. In its origin, in 1821, it expressed the ardor and devotion of the same type of people as the Vermonters, representing the first westward movement of the Puritan stock. The motive of the founders was one that can be appreciated particularly to-day. A tragic period of world disturbance had at last reached its conclusion. There must be some better order of things for the world as a whole. What more hopeful enterprise than to provide the training and inspiration of the higher learning for young men of proved ability and character, in the assurance that they would then go forth as leaders in the Christian way of life not only throughout the Nation whose upbuilding could at last be seriously undertaken, but in non-Christian lands.

Noah Webster laid down the first outlines of the new project. As a pioneer dictionary-maker, it will be understood that he valued the breadth of knowledge, and as an influential publicist, he gave the institution a strong inclination toward citizenship.

Down to Mr. Coolidge's time as a student, its successive presidents all concentrated their emphasis upon a transforming Christian faith, which should issue in the fullest emancipation of mind and spirit, and then be spent in building up the Kingdom of God. For fifty years the college was known very largely by its graduates in the ministry, many of whom were influenced to go to the missionary field. Among these some became statesman-like educational pioneers in the West, and several were the first and foremost exemplars of the higher education on the Asiatic continent. For the next twenty-five years, led by its most distinguished president, the Reverend Julius H. Seelye, without any change of the essential motive of world-wide Christian service that it inculcated and inspired, there developed a strong tendency toward the field of political and social science. First a succession of men attained posts of the highest importance as teachers of those branches. There was a time when nearly all the professorships in the best department of political science in an American

university, that of Columbia, were filled by Amherst men. A little later there developed an interest in practical social service which has brought into such activity a greater number of graduates from Amherst than from any other college in proportion to its size.

Dr. Seelye, just before his promotion from the professorship of philosophy to the presidency of the college, had served a term in Congress. He hesitated for a time between taking up the leadership of the college, and continuing in public life. Not a few of his friends believed that there was no limit within the range of statesmanship to which his majestic qualities of mind and character might not carry him. This was the man whose influence, just after finishing his active work, was none the less everywhere present as Calvin Coolidge, at the age of eighteen, became an Amherst freshman in 1891.

Amherst was, and is, a small college, but national in its constituency. Its faculty has always been made up almost entirely of men seasoned by years of teaching experience. There is one teacher to every ten or a dozen boys. This means that the students can come very close to their instructors, and whenever zealous interest in a study is aroused there develops a genuinely personal relation between

professor and student. When, as was the case with the Amherst of the nineties, the inspiring leaders of the faculty were devotedly bent not only on results in character but on lifelong commitment to public duty, there are conditions precedent to the production of exceptional leadership.

Calvin Coolidge has made it clear that his going to college was at the cost of sacrifice at home. He was not, it is true, compelled to earn his way. But his living arrangements were the most modest. Under such conditions, his natural inclination to make the pursuit of knowledge his absorbing interest was much intensified. It was clear from the beginning, however, that while he would strive for a sound general understanding of all the subjects taught, he would undertake to be thorough only in the courses which specially interested him, going far beyond the maximum requirements with some of these.

The courses of instruction, as he followed them, and considering that they engraved themselves deeply upon his mind and purpose, look distinctly prophetic as one reviews them to-day. The classics, under the lead of old Professor Tyler, in appearance and expression like a modern Socrates, set forth the philosopher as the true citizen and statesman. The course in public speaking, running

through the whole four years, closely followed forms of composition used in professional and public life. It was shaped distinctively as so much preparation for the duties of citizenship. Questions for debate referred largely to political history, social reform, and economic interests. The president's course in ethics had much to do with the theory of the state, with citizenship, public opinion, positive legislation in advanced civilizations throughout the world; and he gave supplementary lectures on social science and questions of social and political reform.

But there were two men, Morse in history, and Garman in philosophy, as teachers unsurpassed, whose moulding and shaping influence on Calvin Coolidge can hardly be overestimated. Both of them were quiet and shy. Both combined two kinds of intellectual power. Each had that of the scientist. In addition Morse was the sage; Garman, the seer.

To Professor Morse, history was past politics, and politics present history. He constantly inculcated the nobler conception of public administration and all the normal democratic processes that lead to it. He asserted the divine, indefeasible right of the people, as well as of individuals, to grow. It was one of his important achievements

to lift political parties into their rightful significance, as being " by far the most important of the agencies through which the crude first thoughts and blind first feelings of the people are transformed into the rational thinking and feeling which is public opinion." " Democracy," he held, " was both the means and the fruit of the diffusion of civilization." He was concerned to bring responsive students to the study of the lives and teachings of the great framers of our system of government. Such young men got an abiding sense of the living issues and the impelling personalities of the early days of the nation, with an always transparent vision of lessons applicable to an immediate present.

That Calvin Coolidge was included in this inner circle is shown by the fact that he became much absorbed in the study of " The Federalist " and of the whole career of Alexander Hamilton. It was especially in the field of American history that he went far beyond the range of classroom instruction and assigned reading. Here he showed marks of genuine personal initiative and zest. It was true in college, as well as amid the suggestions of his boyhood background, that he found in narratives of colonial days his chief intellectual recreation.

There was one occasion when all of these inter-

ests had a particularly moving opportunity of expression. Someone has said that we all crave an audience, and that to bring conviction to our original audience, the family and neighbors, seems the most real of all triumphs. Calvin Coolidge, as a sophomore, on invitation of the Plymouth authorities, delivered the patriotic oration on the Fourth of July — incidentally his birthday — in the town hall at home.

If his ruling ideas came largely from Morse, his moral purpose and a deep, quiet undercurrent of human feeling, had their word of release and emancipation from Garman. Genius was once defined as "the power in one person to arouse in other persons an unmanageable enthusiasm." Garman's students would feel this definition made for him. He laid aside all inducements toward writing for publication, and gave himself unreservedly to them. In terms of the curriculum, he set out to give "a clearer conception of the spiritual philosophy and its more important and profitable applications to science, art, morality and religion."

During a period of elemental unsettlement of belief, he undertook to vaccinate the minds of his students with doubt, and then help them to find their own way to a higher and surer outlook than ever before. This afforded an exercise at once

challenging and inspiriting in the highest degree, and brought to them a revelation of what Carlyle refers to as " the thaumaturgic faculty of thought." In such a way, he made them true disciples, with a deep feeling of the essential nobility of life, because he had led them into the discovery that God is not far from every one of us.

The whole process was characterized on his part by the keenest shrewdness, a persistent play of humor, and a magical facility for setting forth his meaning in terms of modern instances. He almost summed up his purpose as a teacher when he said he wanted to make his students men of vision but not visionaries. He was an artist in the higher drama of personality.

Here are some of the practical convictions that were being shaped in minds plastic at the hands of this almost worshipped teacher: " Philosophy is simply intelligence at its best." " The scriptural name for service is love." " Property is coined service." " Service given and received is business." "Constructive public service with a supreme emphasis on character." " The practical man in politics has a theory and makes it his complete belief only as it is proved by the facts; the scholar in politics seeing mankind as he thinks they ought to be, neglects the means, the steps by which the

goal is reached." "The Amherst system demands self-reliance, self-government; the students must choose for themselves." "Great artists have often used few tools and simple materials." "To make the right supreme choice is to be born again."

In the very years in which Calvin Coolidge sat under him, he was developing with a freshness of thought and imagination that seemed to surpass himself the direct application of the motives of practical idealism, of democracy, of humanity to politics, industry, and the general relations of the community.

It is the universal testimony of Garman's students as they have followed Coolidge's career that his whole outlook on life has been increasingly guided by the message and spirit of this teacher. And it is recognized to-day by interpreters of American civilization that at the end of the last century the best leadership for the wider and freer approach to not only moral and religious issues, but the newly precipitated political and social situation, was found with a few of the men in the chairs of philosophy in our colleges and universities.

With Garman there was a kind of rapture which, on occasion, seemed like transfiguration. It is doubtful whether any student ever passed definitely under his influence without reaching a deep level of

personal conviction about the meaning and purpose of life. So loyal are his students to his memory, that an expression on the part of any of them of devotion to him is tacitly understood to mean the renewal of a solemn pledge, made in the days of a great illumination, to Garman's ideals. That pledge comes directly from the heart with Calvin Coolidge. Will the reader understand why Amherst men cherish peculiar reasons for having faith in Calvin Coolidge — and for requiring the fulfilment of that faith from him?

And if it has appeared, or shall appear, in his public career that, at moments of difficulty, when public faith is disturbed, he shows a leaning toward men from his college, the dominating reason is that, penetrating analyst of character as he is, he has an almost implicit confidence in the rectitude of those who went through an experience of soul under Garman, and have not been disobedient to the vision.

Emerson once suggested that the father sends his son to the great teachers, and the boy's fellow-students educate him. It would appear that this epigram met an extreme negation in Calvin Coolidge as an underclassman. In a small college, where every student knows something about every other, where as a rule all the members of a class

soon get on easy terms with one another, he was marked out as an unknown, wending his solitary way across the campus, taking his meals somewhere on the outskirts, responding in monosyllables when spoken to, keeping his rural appearance and expression against all the infectious influence among youth of city style and manner — surely a strange figure in " a land of song and mirth." Ere long, however, a few men of the type in whom restless and sympathetic curiosity is challenged by such reserve, especially as it is found to emit wisdom, begin to penetrate it. The report spreads that in addition to the capable student who was of public record, there was a genial and generous nature and, greater wonder still, a fellow who could on sufficient occasion talk delightfully with a continuous sparkle of Yankee wit. By the time the class came to its commencement, this strange figure was to be chosen by it as leader of the mirth!

In junior year came the debates — the first open tests of intellectual individuality. Coolidge emerged. He was "keen, concise, felicitous, humorous." " When he had finished, his audience knew they had heard from one who knew his subject." " It was as if a new and gifted man had joined the class." There were two or three, and they among the established intellectual leaders of

the class, who could, if they would, have said, "I told you so."

Thus far Coolidge had only seemed an example of a type not unusual certainly in the fresh-water colleges of New England — the country boy who, without the material and social resources of most of the students, remains in the background, following a plodding course of duty. Such men nearly always have the respect of their classmates, and it is not unusual for one of them gradually to win sincere tributes to solid worth. But it began to appear that this one was altogether exceptional. He had reached a point where there was a real manifestation of reserve power. The restrained utterance, the drawn lips — which then, and since, have often roused in the mere observer a sense of meagreness and a feeling almost of distrust — were increasingly relaxed, and a clearly defined, soundly organized and unusually downright personality began to make its appearance. At a time in life, and at a stage in the college course, when the composite judgment of character is peculiarly unerring, Coolidge's classmates proceeded to make what, for nearly all of them, was an entirely fresh assessment of his personal quality. Here is what in due time came to be the sum of it:

An alert, independent thinker. Simple, straight

mental processes. Clear common sense; accurate perceptions. Got to the heart of a problem, and said the last word. Never assumed knowledge, or attempted bluff. Always master of himself. Everything without the appearance of haste; ample leisure to do the right thing. Reserved, but strong where he stood. Had no start; made progress through character and ability. A liking for hard work; conscious of the value of results obtained by serious effort. Keen, subtle sense of humor. Cold outside; intense within.

But quite as vital a test, particularly in a small college, is: how does the student respond to the distinctive loyalties of the student body, how does he adapt himself to undergraduate corporate spirit and enterprise. Here again we see a quiet, characteristic revelation in the latter half of the college course. One of the men in the class, who, in spite of financial handicaps, rose quickly to influence, took his meals in freshman year at the same boarding place as Calvin Coolidge. Discerning the signs of unusual quality in his table-companion he had, soon after being taken into a fraternity, proposed Coolidge for membership. The proposal was rejected. His appearance was against him. He was nothing of a mixer. He showed no sort of athletic proclivity. He gave no particular promise of being a classroom leader.

But by junior year, in a quite unique way, the social estimate of Calvin Coolidge began to change. There came along a characteristic student institution, suggestive of other days, called Plug Hat Race. He had been losing something of his rural appearance; still he surprised everyone by coming out with a top hat. It was borrowed, but it fitted well. A classmate has recently remarked that " the occult might have seen prophecy in that, as Calvin has undoubtedly used a silk hat more than any other member of the class." He was, however, one of the less fleet of foot, and it fell to his lot to pay a forfeit by making a speech. He explained that work in the hayfield was poor training for prowess on the track. This thesis was developed with such a play of dry wit that a succession of shouts of laughter ended in an ovation. His concluding words have in them a pathetic touch of reminiscence and, considering that there has always been in him a deep steady current of belief in himself, they carry some deliberate intimation of an expanding future. He said, " Remember, boys, there are first that shall be last, and the last first."

The impression made by this exploit grew and multiplied, and as the graduation of the class approached, Coolidge was chosen by unanimous vote to be grove orator at the commencement exer-

cises. Curiously enough, this is one of the chief honors which the class bestows on an all-around "good fellow." He must be humorous, and he must have a kind of gritty intelligence. He must stand forth as a man who is in the current of events in terms of college life. The choice of Coolidge as grove orator thus has in it some of the elements of mystery that are found in his election to successively higher political offices. And the explanation of the mystery, so far as it can be explained, is to be found in the prelude as truly as in the actual working out of the drama later on.

He had not developed any interest as an active participant in athletics. There is much less reason why a boy brought up on a farm, and continuing to spend Christmas vacation teaming logs to the sawmill, spring vacation making maple syrup, the summer months haying, should go in for athletics. Certainly for him, they do not represent any essential test of physical and moral vigor. During the college terms, in addition to the required exercise in the college gymnasium, he made himself familiar with the charms of a countryside which for quiet beauty cannot be surpassed. He continued in this way, to have the values of a direct inquisitive acquaintance with nature, which Henry Ward Beecher said represented the most important gain that came of his own four years at Amherst.

But Coolidge was very much interested in following athletic contests. He was a regular and intent spectator at the intercollegiate baseball and football games. He was eager for Amherst to win. He was anxious that the men on the teams should make a good record. He had the same feeling for them that he had for himself in any contest in which he was engaged: he concentrated his whole thought and determination on achieved success. There is always an infecting power in such an attitude.

It began to be rumored that Coolidge was really at heart a "good sport." He not only could sum up the meaning of class affairs in shrewd, pungent epitome; but, on occasion, he could participate, and even take the lead, in those mischievous pranks through which college boys cut the eye teeth of adventure.

In his junior year, a new fraternity chapter was being established in Amherst. In due time Coolidge was asked to join. It was found that he was already informed about the particulars, and he needed only a few words to say that he would accept the invitation. While not essaying to be a convivial member, he soon showed that he could make his contribution in practical ways. The story is told that the question soon arose about purchas-

ing a modest home for the chapter. After a few broad statements about the condition of the property and its price, Coolidge proceeded in a vein characteristic of him to present an analysis of the real situation, of which these are sample particulars: (1) the house needed painting, (2) the bricks ought to be repointed and partly relaid, (3) the piazza will have to be repaired, (4) the rooms were sadly in need of repapering, (5) the tennis court was one in name only, and one hundred dollars would be needed to put it in condition.

He made a point of attending class meetings. In one of his addresses in later years he says that the principles and procedure of political organizations are definitely expressed in college life:

> There is no difficulty for men in college to understand elections and government. They have all had experience in it. The same motives that operate in the choice of class officers operate in choosing officers of the Commonwealth. Here men are soon estimated at their true worth. Here places of trust are administered as they will be in later years. . . . Of course, the present estimate is not the ultimate. There are men here who appear important that will not appear so in years to come.

In the small scene, and in terms of undergraduate life, he was developing his gift for the " phil-

osophy of men and of measures." He was a keen observer of those about him, and knew them all whether they knew him or not. He had few intimates, but they were men of power who were in and of the whole situation. Without any apparent effort on his part — and indeed partly because of his complete indifference to any such effort — they became attached to him as with bands of steel. The remainder of the class were impressed by this fact and found the impression confirmed by Coolidge's occasional public utterance. Their personal acquaintance with him was hardly greater now than at the beginning. But their appreciation of him had grown steadily. Before the end of the course he had come to be recognized as an unusual person whose ability might carry him far. When the vote of the class was taken for the man most likely to achieve success the choice fell on Dwight W. Morrow, who by his own efforts has risen to the position of member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. and one of New York's first and best citizens. But Dwight Morrow voted for Calvin Coolidge. He has explained since that he figured out for Coolidge a career as a Vermont lawyer who would in due time go to Congress. It is the testimony of members of the class that if the question had been, Who is first for worth-while thought and

close-packed utterance, the choice would undoubtedly have been, Coolidge.

There came to him thus in his continued reserve and even isolation, a sense of influence in the community of which he was part — an influence quite as real as if he had been aggressively expressing himself. From the beginning of freshman year, during which he sat in the gallery at chapel and could take in the whole college personnel at a glance, his capacity for compassing the facts, his exceptional memory for faces and names, and his scent for character analysis, kept him well abreast of college affairs. A student with such an outlook, among five hundred young men representing various types and many sections of the country, secures an invaluable phase of preliminary training as an American.

That, in spite of appearances, he was in vital relation with that community is shown by his classmates' repeated assertion that he was not really aloof or lonely. Though he made few overtures, he was always ready with a telling response. Perhaps the most striking aspect of the discovery of Coolidge by his fellow-students was that his gift for discerning the little misplays of life was constantly under control. He was never the wit as such, but only for a purpose; and in that purpose

— despite certain impressions that he gave — no one had known him to be bitter, sarcastic or cynical. Then, as always since, every one that got beneath the surface with him found kind-heartedness.

To the " social " set he seemed almost as far as ever out of their ken, and, for that matter, they were largely out of his. He tried making calls at Smith College, but felt himself a failure in that direction. He went to his class " prom " under the spur of duty, and managed to live through it as a wall-flower. Calls at professors' homes were not for him.

But from his general constituency he had solidly earned their respect, and he had become the trusted counsellor of some of the best of their leaders. The very uniqueness of his way of arriving prepared not a few observing classmates to believe that they had witnessed the first chapter in a life of some sort of unfolding power.

The climax of his intellectual progress at college came in the preparation of an essay on " Principles Fought For in the War of the American Revolution," in a competition under the auspices of the Sons of the American Revolution, and participated in by college students throughout the country. Coolidge took the prize. The Secretary-

General at the Annual Congress of the Order, held in Richmond, April 30, 1896, after reporting the award, said:

> This movement is, in the opinion of the Board of Managers, one to be encouraged in every way, as being instrumental in causing the young people throughout the land to acquaint themselves more thoroughly with the interesting details of our War for Independence.

The essay is written in the pithy and pointed style which at graduation received special recognition from his instructors, and has since become familiar; and it clearly shows his traits of logical analysis, with unexpected disclosures of meaning at vital points. It was in effect a testimonial not only to his instruction under Professor Morse, but to his independent devotion, since boyhood, to the great story of the founders, stimulated always by an almost personal sense of participation through his sturdy forbears. The point of view of the essay — and one suggestive of his political philosophy ever since — is expressed in these words; "The struggle was not between nations, or for new principles. It was not so much a revolution, a propagation of new ideas, as the maintenance of old forms of representative government, of chartered rights and constitutional liberty." The essay concluded:

The great land of America had a part to play in the history of the world that could best be performed by making it an independent nation. England's great work was to plant colonies. America could not aid in that work. It was her place to found a great nation on this side of the Atlantic and bring out the conception of free government. And when this was done, then America stretched out her hand over the sea to aid the oppressed of Europe, to furnish them with a place of refuge, and as soon as they could assume the duties, make them citizens, not alone of our United States, but of the world.

The Fourth of July oration at home in sophomore year had been in a style from which the prize essay radically departed. The oration was periodic, florid, forensic, after the full manner of the old-time examples in the "Standard Speakers." It was emotional in a high degree. The transition to the verbal manner which then became characteristic and permanent indicates the influence of intellectual discipline and incentive during the last two years of the course. But it leaves the reflection that the emotion has only taken another form.

It was significant of the man that when he received the medal of honor, after his graduation, he made no effort to inform anybody, and his friends only learned about it later from the newspapers. It is also worthy of note that this enterprise, while owing so much to his college training,

was distinctively an expression of himself, drawing upon the suggestions that surrounded his birth and early training and expressing the innate bent of his own mind. He showed an exceptional degree of independent initiative in entering a larger arena and appealing to a wider tribunal than his college. The point is that while Calvin Coolidge gained unspeakably from his academical training, he never became merely the subject, far less the victim of it. It was once said of a powerful Scotch interpreter of social problems, "He was a great shepherd from the hills, and the university could not spoil him."

Law school was considered out of the question in the light of drains already made on modest family resources. The question arose between Coolidge and his father whether he should not return to Plymouth and take up the life of a farmer. Calvin sought to draw out his father's judgment and desire on this point. Mr. Coolidge, senior, declined to influence his son, wishing him to make his own choice. But the neighbors say that it was a deep grief to the father to think that Calvin was not going to be with him.

Amherst has always remained to Calvin Coolidge a centre of light. That direct view of the ridge running east from Mt. Holyoke continues to be for

him one of those few individualized landmarks that can re-orient the mind and spirit. It has been his custom to attend all the reunions of his class. On such occasions his attitude is not perceptibly different from what it was in college days,—modest, courteous, kindly, uncommunicative except when others take the initiative and then replying pithily in something short of sentence form. Of late years, in public addresses he has given impressive interpretations of the quality and service of the college. At the one hundredth anniversary in 1921, when he was Vice-President, he quoted the founders' purpose "not to deviate from the original object of civilizing and evangelizing the world by the classical education of indigent young men of piety and talent," and said:

> The fundamental purpose of this institution is to teach men spiritual values. The progress of this effort measures the progress of civilization. There is no other principle that men of the present day all over the world need to keep so constantly in mind.

Continued connection with Amherst College and its alumni has represented to Calvin Coolidge his best and closest tie of fellowship with men. Attention has been called to the anomalous fact that, since his college days, he has never connected himself with any fraternal order. It is not impossible

that he has profited on the whole politically by keeping a friendly neutral attitude to all the orders, most of which, in any event, he could not have joined. In any case, Amherst College has provided his tie of brotherhood. First among his classmates and then among the alumni generally, he has increasingly found himself in a wholesome allegiance of friendship, understanding and reënforcement. This is, of course, but a single illustration of the influence for good that is going to accrue to the nation from the ever-increasing loyal and responsible fellowship that is developing among the graduate bodies of our colleges and universities.

But there is one graduate of the college, drawn and held to him primarily through common loyalty to Alma Mater, whose unswerving and unlimited gift of himself, his influence and his resources to Calvin Coolidge as servant of the public, is for its process no less than for its outcome, a thing almost if not quite unparalleled. Frank W. Stearns is the head of a long-established dry-goods store in Boston. The business was founded and built up by his father, one of the most sterling of the old Boston merchants. The son, after greatly developing it, turned the active charge over to younger men. Then the question came, " How can I make the rest

of my life count for most?" He had followed up his father's interests as a leading Congregational layman. He had attached himself helpfully to a number of philanthropic agencies. He had been for years a devoted member of the Amherst College board of trustees. While not abating any of these interests, he decided that he would turn his main action toward raising the standards of politics and of administration by encouraging young men of exceptional character and ability in following careers of public service.

It had long been known from experience by a considerable and varied circle that Frank Stearns had a unique gift for friendship. Blunt, matter-of-fact, hard-headed, with that geniality which bites the sweeter for being a little crusty, he had a kind of loyalty that knew no bounds to those in many walks of life to whom he had become attached. The walls of his office are covered with their portraits. He had for many years given personal attention to his firm's advertising,— well-nigh unique in not going into Sunday papers,— and had learned to put the clear, essential truth in the simplest of straightforward terms. He had also in this connection formed an influential acquaintance with all the leading journalists in Massachusetts.

Having such a front toward his new project, it happened that Mr. Stearns had some technical matter affecting Amherst College which required legislative action. With an attorney he naturally took the case to Mr. Coolidge, then President of the Senate. When the matter was fully presented, it instantly appeared that Mr. Coolidge would not take any steps to present it before that year's session — it was too late. In fact, before long, feeling undoubtedly that he had said all he had to say, he closed the interview by walking away. Mr. Stearns was indignant. He felt that such an attitude on the part of any legislator, particularly a son of Amherst, and when the college was concerned, was intolerable. Here, at any rate, was one young man in public office with whom he would not be inclined to join hands.

This was toward the close of the legislative session. Early in the next session, Mr. Stearns learned from the college that the legislature had acted favorably on the proposal laid before it by him. The request had come in much too late the previous year to allow new matters to be brought up unless they were of exceptional urgency. But without any reminder, the first possible moment after the next legislature proceeded to act on bills, Mr. Coolidge had seen to it that the matter was taken care of.

This roused Mr. Stearns. He felt that such a man would bear watching. He began to inquire about him in detail, and to get somewhat acquainted with him. The more he learned the more interested in such an exceptional character he became; the more he came to feel that in this self-controlled personality there was the mental grasp and reach, the sense for moral values, the power of decision, to make a statesman.

He proceeded to open up all available avenues of acquaintance and influence toward getting Mr. Coolidge nominated as Lieutenant-Governor. His progress was encouraging; but there was an aspirant to the nomination who was already making an aggressive campaign, while it was not even known for certain that Mr. Coolidge would be a candidate. Mr. Coolidge refused all Mr. Stearns's appeals to declare himself; and the refusals continued. He was unwilling to bring confusion to his service as President of the Senate by initiating a campaign for another office. Before and since it has been one of his rules of conduct to concentrate his attention strictly on the duty in hand, particularly when it is public duty. During the whole of his unparalleled advance, he has only once or twice of his own motion presented himself as a candidate, and then when it was almost a matter of course that

he should do so. It is his way to wait until he is responsibly called for. "Public office should neither be sought nor refused," is one of his maxims.

At the close of the legislative session when he had completed his service as President of the Senate, he handed Mr. Stearns a slip of paper on which he had written:

I am a candidate for Lieutenant-Governor.

CALVIN COOLIDGE.

CHAPTER VII

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR

When this announcement reached the newspapers, it was understood publicly, for the first time, that Calvin Coolidge, possessed of none of the customary attractions of the potential high officer of the Commonwealth, was coming toward the centre of the Massachusetts political stage on the basis of cumulative service and inherent qualifications. These solid claims to support were understood by men all over the State who had served in the Legislature with him. He had won admirers of many sorts by the way in which he had handled public business of which they had been cognizant. There were instances in which men on both sides of a heated controversy had found good reason to believe in him. His legislative services had been of a kind that had made him favorably known to large numbers of ordinary citizens in both the farming and the industrial sections. Mr. Stearns put aside everything else and proceeded, so far as possible, to make every friend and acquaintance in the State a worker in the cause.

Direct nomination by the popular primary, which

Mr. Coolidge had supported, was by this time in full force. The other candidate for the Republican nomination was a particularly effective speaker. But as Mr. Coolidge himself has observed, " It is not always the one who can speak that appeals to the people, and of the speakers not always the eloquent." A Boston Democratic politician, who was watching the contest, said, " That Yankee twang will be worth thousands of votes to Calvin Coolidge." Under the first State-wide test, there began what became, year after year, a phenomenal series of demonstrations of the popular leaning toward this man. Aside from his unusual personality, two of his methods of campaign solidly commended themselves. He was positive and constructive; he did not attack his opponents, and he spent little time in decrying their proposals. He made a thought-out, concentrated appeal to the practical intelligence of the people. The people listened. In one town there were two halls of different size. The question was, which would be right for the Coolidge meeting. One citizen urged the big hall. A second citizen said, " He won't fill it." To which the other replied, " He won't empty it." By primary day, the people of the State had a clear and stimulating notion of a new leader who could precipitate and crystallize the essentials of

public policy. The nomination was won by a substantial majority. When it came to the election, he won by 52,144. The next year, the figure was 84,930; and for his third year as Lieutenant-Governor, the majority was 101,731.

The formal duties of the office include the supervision and approval of all the expenditures of State money, visiting State institutions, and acting with the Governor's Council upon his appointments. It is a position that can be made almost perfunctory; or much can be made of it as means of learning about the work of the various administrative departments.

Governor McCall testified that Mr. Coolidge always supported his efforts in every respect. It has, indeed, always been his way to sustain his superior officers. Department heads found that he would never approve any financial statement without careful analysis of it. He was already familiar with the principal institutions, but he now made a practice of systematic visitations, so that their superintendents came to feel they had not known an executive officer of the State to have so discerning and constructive a point of view about their work. He had, of course, heard at home as a boy, from his father and his grandfather, about the service of State institutions. He had occasion at

Northampton to know about one of the State hospitals for the insane located in that city. There was a background of technical interest in his mind; but it came to be understood that he had a personally sympathetic attitude toward the wards of the State and was turning his penetrating intelligence toward the improvement of their condition and toward raising still higher the Commonwealth's humanitarian standards.

Mr. Coolidge's service as Lieutenant-Governor corresponded almost exactly with the period of American participation in the World War, bringing, of course, a greatly increased burden of responsibility on the State administration. The Governor was in Washington frequently and for considerable periods. On these occasions, Mr. Coolidge as Acting Governor, not only handled routine matters, but, in the stress of the times, was often compelled to deal conclusively with serious issues.

A Committee of Public Safety was formed, made up of a large number of the leading business men of the State, who gave their whole time during the continuance of the war, like the dollar a year men in Washington. The Lieutenant-Governor had the responsibility of passing on every item of the committee's expenditure, and he thus consulted

with them on all important points of policy. At times, acting for the Governor, he showed what to them was remarkable resourcefulness, alertness, and decision in working out necessary plans. As to the outcome of this critical test of Mr. Coolidge in his first experience of State executive office, and under the hampering condition of being a loyal second in command, it is enough to report the estimate of the chairman of the Committee of Public Safety, Mr. Henry B. Endicott, since deceased. Mr. Endicott was the head of one of the largest shoe manufacturing concerns in the world, and one of the most successful industries anywhere in the matter of right relations between employer and employee. He said, " I am a Democrat; but whenever Mr. Coolidge is a candidate for any office, he shall have my vote."

It was the exigency of the war situation that brought the issue of national prohibition decisively to the front. As a matter of fact, it did not present itself to Mr. Coolidge, or even to the Governor, officially. The action of the Legislature was all that was required for the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment. But a group of leaders in the powerful organization that was being steadily built up to support Mr. Coolidge in due time for the governorship, took a decisive part. The present

writer was chairman of the Massachusetts committee to secure ratification, and personally conducted all the negotiations with Mr. Stearns in connection with this critically important situation. Here is a part of the story of the Eighteenth Amendment which has never before been told.

First as to Mr. Coolidge's record on the liquor question. The whole influence of his early upbringing served to make him strictly abstemious in this as in other respects. His mother, as a girl, had known at close range some of the wreckage that alcohol can bring; and anxiety in the hearts of mothers for sons is the root cause of prohibition. Yet, until prohibition came in, he now and then made mild exception to his usual practice of abstinence. Northampton had been under the license system for many years, and there was always a question among good citizens whether, with a mixed population, and large license centres near-by, no-license would be practicable. Mr. Coolidge did not believe that it would be. It was generally agreed that a continued experience of changing back and forth brought communities nothing but harm. President Eliot, ardent advocate of the established no-license policy in Cambridge, had often emphasized this point.

But there was another respect in which Mr. Cool-

idge was perhaps even more definitely disposed to accept the *status quo*. As a member of the House, he found no-license sentiment was becoming organized on a State-wide basis, and was measuring off for a contest with the liquor interests. Many judicious people regarded this effort as hopeless. As he came forward in the Senate, and became one of the leading exponents there of party policy, he was definitely inclined to discourage the agitation of the liquor question as being ineffectual and divisive.

With the imminence of the war, however, and while he was still in the Senate, he was among the first of the political leaders in Massachusetts — who had all been at least skeptical about extreme restrictive measures — to see the need, the possibility, and the practicality of broad-scale action; and he communicated this change of view to the leaders of the temperance forces of the State.

The ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment by Massachusetts, as the eleventh State in line, the first Northeastern State, and the first with a great immigrant industrial population, was, without doubt, the most pivotal fact in the whole contest. The New York press, from that moment, changed its attitude and acknowledged that national prohibition was likely to be supported by the East as well as by the West and South. Two weeks before

the vote was taken in the Legislature, the late Dr. Purley Baker, national superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League, was in Boston, and, though always an optimist, could not be led to believe that Massachusetts was going to ratify. Professor Irving Fisher, of Yale, leader among the many political economists who supported the prohibitory amendment, had figured that the process of ratification would take several years, and when told about the prospect, was very loath to think that Massachusetts could become a prodigy and upset his careful calculations.

Had this not happened, the likelihood of ratification in the other Northeastern States would have been much less. Without a solid block of them, prohibition would either have fallen short of enactment, or would have been in the almost hopeless situation of representing the action of practically only the West and South, and a distinct minority of the population of the country.

Coming to the contest within the State, it can be said, with hardly the possibility of doubt, that ratification in Massachusetts would have fallen far short if it had not been for the penetrating, comprehensive, untiring work of friends of Mr. Coolidge, led by Mr. Stearns. Mr. Stearns was doubtful about some of the details of the proposal, but as

to the main issue he was clear. He was steadily reënforced by the late Senator W. Murray Crane, who said, "Yes, first, because it's right, and secondly, because Massachusetts will lose its influence in the counsels of the Nation if it does not join in this movement of national conviction." Later on, we shall find how Senator Crane's words proved to contain — with direct application to Mr. Coolidge — a real element of prophecy.

As Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Coolidge began to have a very wide general acquaintance throughout the State. Among all the demands of the war, he had to share with the Governor an exceptional number and variety of appointments with companies of people of all sorts. In his campaigns he had always managed to win support from among those who were separated from him by party, race, and religion. Disinclined as he is to the give-and-take of personal conversation, in meeting people at large he always expresses the villager's sense for hospitably including everybody. Living and working in a small city, he was readily inclined, when politics opened the way, to reach out toward all sorts. Thus while the people of the State found in his approach nothing of the "glad-hand" type of office-holder, they did sense in him always a neighbor-like feeling. It was also a rather novel

experience for the New-Englanders of the towns to have a high State official who had risen quickly from among themselves.

By the same token, there was some doubt among the established folk of the cities, with their patrician standards for Republican State executives, about a provincial newcomer. It began to appear that this man was making a career of politics. Now it was an almost undisputed doctrine among Massachusetts leaders of opinion that, for the high-minded, politics could be a duty, but not a career. To be sure, men of means, inherited or acquired, might aspire to the governorship as a crown to their careers in other fields. And there was always Theodore Roosevelt, who, as a Harvard man, was always partly claimed by Massachusetts; but he was an exception to all rules. This Mr. Coolidge was only a country lawyer. Was he contriving in various ways to make politics promote his professional interests; or is he, perhaps, only a somewhat different sort of professional politician?

The difficulty about such doubts — and they constitute one of the most serious evils in our civic life — is that they so rarely lead to investigation. They continue to be raised, disseminated, turned from the interrogative to the declarative, and finally come to represent facts in the minds of

many who pride themselves on their intelligence and public spirit. No public career, with all its inevitable complications, can avoid giving some more or less available basis for suspicion. In the case of one who secludes himself, is personally uncommunicative, and never explains, it is easy to suspect the mysterious, the devious, the ineffectual. Many are slow to believe that there can be disinterested ability behind so unaccustomed a front.

The inner qualities would no doubt, in due time, have made their own case. But there were two specific ways in which the true Calvin Coolidge was made manifest to the people of the State, so that he became, as a leader, more and more trusted and understood; though there are, of course, those who will not honor a prophet in his own country. There was, in the first place, the considerable and widely disseminated circle of those who had made the assuring discovery of him in the Legislature, and above all, there was Mr. Stearns, with his never-resting, all-embracing missionary activity, through whom constantly increasing numbers of people throughout the State came to know what kind of a politician and public servant Calvin Coolidge was.

It gradually came out through these friends that, whereas others could enter public office because of their superfluity, this man could do so because of

his frugality; that while still others, often without discredit, could, through holding public office, find ways thereby of advancing themselves in business or the professions, there was no one who had ever suggested that Mr. Coolidge was better off by a penny through his increasing public influence. When, somewhat later, he gave up his law practice, his partner stated that no business had ever come their way through any of Mr. Coolidge's political connections. The small fees which he charged for legal services were a by-word. He had New England thrift deeply embedded in his mind; but beyond the supply of the simple necessaries of life for his modest household, money-making was evidently a matter that made little or no appeal to him. He seemed actually to present a demonstration of Carlyle's ethical principle that if you only have zero in the denominator of your fraction, a small quantity in the numerator will mean that you have riches and freedom.

Here follows an outline of Mr. Stearns's estimate of Calvin Coolidge at this time — such a congealed judgment as might be set down in black and white — privately he expressed the firm conviction that the Lieutenant-Governor would keep right on until he became President of the United States: Mr. Coolidge's work is all constructive. He is charac-

terized by action, not words. Splendidly honest. Charged with ingratitude by those who want to make personal gains through politics, but as a matter of fact always considerate and helpful. Not an orator: but the audience follows him closely, and thinks over afterward what he says. As a speaker, he always gives evidence of reserve power. Constantly gaining in experience and self-control. Notably fair to opponents. Fair and just in disputed issues between labor and capital. Makes mistakes, of course, but those who never do fail to accomplish continuous and increasing results.

This was the first thought-out expression of the insight of a man without previous political experience, who, for his part in assisting Mr. Coolidge, and without any stake but the public good, has made one of the most phenomenal achievements in American political history. Aside from all the more concrete services that Mr. Stearns has rendered Mr. Coolidge, he has afforded two kinds of moral support. He steadily reënforced Mr. Coolidge's confidence in himself at a stage when such help counts for most. In the midst of a political atmosphere, he has represented constantly, in his association with Mr. Coolidge, the finest standards of the American merchant. And yet Mr. Stearns

testifies that Mr. Coolidge has at times taken exception to his proposals as not being fair to the other side.

The other kind of influence that served in a wholly exceptional way to bring Mr. Coolidge, even as Lieutenant-Governor, distinctly into the succession of the foremost public men of the State, was the style and matter of his addresses on a great variety of occasions. His speech on taking the chair in the State Senate had prepared people to be attentive. Now they began to find the same sententious utterance, compactness of language, and close articulation of ideas, with the results of careful study of general and local history and the principles of government. What Nathaniel Hawthorne said about the addresses of Franklin Pierce, the last New England President before Calvin Coolidge, applies equally well to these present-day utterances: "His speeches in their muscular texture and close grasp of the subject resembled the brief and pregnant arguments and expositions of the sages of the Continental Congress." As a matter of fact, there was none of them, even on what would have seemed to most officials a perfunctory occasion, which was not prepared for by study and reflection. They were all written out by hand before they were delivered, and, delivered without

manuscript, the audience hears nearly word for word what was given to the press. Each of them carries some suggestion of long pondering during the whole course of his previous experience.

The addresses all approach the issues of the day from out of a living sense of the growth of the American Nation. They express an almost first-hand feeling of what the development of our liberties has meant, and of appreciation for those of different degrees who won them. The speaker is always concerned to have his hearers place his own high estimate, not only upon the administration of government, but upon the political processes that lead up to it. It is clear that he has studied politics with the same application with which he would seek to master the law, or with which another would lay hold upon the science and practice of medicine; "the power to think is not cloistered from politics."

He urges always that politics should be judged by its best exponents, and that they as individuals should be estimated according to what is best in them. The party system is an essential alternative to revolution and anarchy; but the relations between opposing partisans should be such that they can always work together for the welfare of the country. We need a new spirit, but it must be kept

in the right path; "not the survival of the fittest, but the sacrifice of the fittest." The influences of education and religion are constantly more indispensable with the advance of democracy. Universal education is required to increase national harmony and unity of action. Concretely, nothing is more important in our community life than a renewed respect for the teacher and the minister; and material provision for their needs in accordance.

Through these addresses, and the visits that went with them up and down the State, Mr. Coolidge implanted a definitely etched picture of himself in the minds of the people — always of the utmost significance to political success. Some years ago, when a great American department store was opened in London, for weeks the advertising consisted simply of clear and eloquent sentences expressing the time-honored principles and standards under which the business was to be conducted. The full pages in which these sentiments were expressed were bordered with designs suggestive of the decorations on some parchment of the past. This introduction served to put the new enterprise in a setting of established dignity so important in an ancient city. Mr. Coolidge's addresses had a similar effect in the old Commonwealth.

It is true, on the other hand, that his utterances while he was Lieutenant-Governor gave to many the feeling that his mind was too much centred in the past. He was instituting in effect — along with the general stimulus given by the war to an interest in history — a revived form of the philosophy and the ethical motives that lie at the heart of the American system of government; but it did not appear from the addresses that he was as deeply engaged with the issues of the present and the immediate future by which those principles and motives must anew be tested. The question was inevitably and insistently asked, How does Calvin Coolidge react to the signs of the times? Nothing could be more important to him and to his future than the answer to this challenge:

1. Certain it is that he is opposed to having the Government attempt to do for the welfare, material or moral, of individuals, what they can reasonably be supposed to accomplish for themselves, to their own and the general good; but this does not mean that the Government cannot, in many ways, go far to facilitate all such effort.

2. He had learned, as we have seen, from practical experience in government that legislation has far outstripped the administration of the law, and properly held that administration should be given

a chance to catch up. If this consideration puts some check on progressive legislation it should be remembered, he held, that there are large undeveloped possibilities of progressive action within the range of the executive branch of government.

3. None of Mr. Coolidge's addresses thus far have been those of an official clothed with power. The Lieutenant-Governor, as a matter of obvious respect to his superior officer, is not in position to announce policies. His every utterance is severely restrained and handicapped by official obligations. When he attains to the governorship, the true, explicit answer to this whole inquiry will be forthcoming. Meanwhile — what was so often forgotten by those who had followed only his restricted utterances as Lieutenant-Governor — his legislative record from start to finish is forward-looking.

The three years of the lieutenant-governorship, resting back on six years of legislative experience, punctuated by service as executive head of a municipality, went to provide a comprehensive and thorough apprenticeship for the responsibilities that were to follow. Mr. Coolidge made the most of this opportunity. "Always prepared" had been one of his rules of life. It was in fact wrought into his nature. Then, as always, whoever came in contact with him found that he

was absorbed first in the accumulation of a vast store of knowledge about the personnel and procedure of the State administration and the problems confronting it, and secondly, in thinking, always thinking, penetratingly, pungently, but constructively, about the content and the forthright implications of the facts and situations that he encountered.

The lieutenant-governorship carries a very small salary, and is not supposed to occupy a man's full time. With Mr. Coolidge, however, and under war-time conditions, it was an absorbing office. He managed usually, however, to return to Northampton at the week-end. It was a familiar sight — the Lieutenant-Governor, sometimes with Mrs. Coolidge, and on occasion with the boys, in a day coach, on the railroad that runs all the way through rural regions, beautiful now with apple blossoms, now with autumn leaves, now with snow, the train seeming to stop at everybody's garden gate. Northampton was the end of the line, and the conductor was the next-door neighbor. Mr. Coolidge read the paper; Mrs. Coolidge knitted.

For years she had knitted the boys' stockings. As a member of the Red Cross — and this was the only organization to which she belonged, aside from the church — she knitted fifty pairs of socks,

in addition to sweaters and helmets, during the winter when they were most needed. She also secured members and subscriptions, and kept the chapter journal.

A caller was welcomed at the door by Mrs. Coolidge. She had just been down town getting something for the boys' lunch. Here are some of the properties which he found in the background of the family life: book-strewn table; rug of standard pattern; framed photographic copy of Sir Galahad; photograph of Crawford Notch; Bible history; sewing-bag; a lidless graphophone, with no operatic records; bric-à-brac; bay window with blinds tied back; ice-card; parchesi; hooks with boys' hats, baseballs, bats and gloves; dog; gas stove; fireplace with wood ashes, and over it this sentiment —

> A wise old owl lived in an oak:
> The more he saw, the less he spoke.
> The less he spoke, the more he heard:
> Why can't we be like that old bird?

Mrs. Coolidge is a companion to her boys. John, the elder, is like his mother; Calvin, Jr., like his father. John plays the violin; is mechanical, and has built a quite recognizable automobile. Calvin essays only the mandolin, and is interested in erecting a flagpole. Both handle the typewriter.

They go to the public school, where Mr. and Mrs. Coolidge believe boys learn to work out their own salvation. They not only help their mother about the house, but undertake various services on a business basis for the neighbors, contributing a part of the income to the church. This is in accordance with their father's views; but the Coolidge boys, in taking odd jobs, follow a custom not uncommon among their friends. At night, their mother reads the "Swiss Family Robinson," "Robin Hood," or "Ivanhoe" to them for fifteen minutes after they are tucked in.

Mr. Coolidge is the kind of father who has the absolute respect of his sons; but he does not easily become their playmate. He occasionally reads to them, takes them on walks with him, and has even gone skating and fishing through the ice with them. He makes common cause with his wife in some exceptional ways. He enjoys going shopping with her. He will assist in the selection of gowns, but not of hats. He is quite ready to join her in getting the dinner, and can wash the dishes if occasion demands. She says that he is quite a ready talker when you sit down with him away from business. She has found him the coolest man under all circumstances that she ever knew. But even at that, it is her wise judgment that husband and wife must

not both be tired at the same time. It is a fit comment on the relations of these two that Mr. Coolidge can always be drawn into conversation about his home. While Mrs. Coolidge is particularly careful not to embarrass him in relation to public questions, she is deeply and discerningly interested in them. She feels that woman suffrage will lead women for the sake of their children to think in broader economic and political terms. This will reënforce the home by creating new common interests; and will even, in the first place, put young men and women in better position to select the right mates.

Such was the outlook of the household at 32 Massasoit Street, as those larger responsibilities began to summon that meant a steady increase of disturbance to family life, and for Mr. Coolidge the complete severance of professional connections.

CHAPTER VIII

GOVERNOR

INCUMBENTS of the highest executive offices of government under the American system have only brief tenures. That of governor of a State is the shortest of all. A man rising toward the presidency by way of the governorship must show his capacity and his mettle within from two to four years.

It is doubtful if a governor in any of the States has ever packed so much into two years as did Calvin Coolidge. He gained an experience during that brief period as thorough as falls to many public men in a lifetime. He showed the people of the State a remarkable grasp of public affairs, a wide range of constructive interest and ability, and a kind of versatility that even many of his friends would have considered foreign to him. Fortune or destiny, to some observers of his career, seems to be required as an explanation of his unerring progress, as shown by the disappearance of this party rival or that, or by the nomination of weak opponents by the opposite party. But the true basis of his progress — and this is shown most clearly of all in his administration as Governor — lies in his way

of laying hold upon the crowding and varied situations that have confronted him.

For some years, as a result of the Progressive defection, the Democrats, most of whom in Massachusetts are of Irish antecedents, had brought forward men of that race for their candidates. Now, as the breach was beginning to be healed, they adopted the strategy of selecting for their standard-bearer what they distinguish as a "Yankee Democrat," in the person of the head of a large shoe manufacturing business — then with ample resources, more recently a bankrupt.

Mr. Coolidge in his campaign speeches urged strongly that the Republican Party must be liberal — must be broad enough to merit the support of the various elements which make up the increasingly cosmopolitan population of Massachusetts. He instanced the great mass of legislation of the State for fifty years past as showing that this was the essential Republican attitude. He referred, however, to the difficulties that come of too much legislation, and urged that the remedy lay in looking to the executive for a more serviceable type of public action. Such administration, however, must not destroy the will of the people through a despotic bureaucracy any more than through a socialistic state.

While for several years the number had been gradually increasing of those who understood and respected his ability, he was still not well known by the mass of the voters. As always before, he had been somewhat independent of "organization" approval and support; and there were serious divisions among party leaders. The opposing candidate, already familiar by name throughout the State, carried on an aggressive campaign of advertising through the newspapers. The National Administration supported him. The result was that Mr. Coolidge's vote was reduced much below that by which his predecessor had been elected. It would probably have been still smaller but for the exercise of Mr. Coolidge's remarkable sagacity as a political strategist. He followed out the method, originally practised in Northampton, of making personal calls on many persons of influence locally. He appealed to the western part of the State as its first candidate since 1905. There had always been a Coolidge Democratic following in the Connecticut Valley, and in this campaign it held strongly to him. The sentiment of every section of the State seemed an open book to him, and the campaign managers were surprised after election by the accuracy of his predictions as to the detailed vote. His majority of only

17,035 led the "Springfield Republican," which holds the worthy place of political mentor in the State, to say as a warning to the Republican Party, rather than to Mr. Coolidge, " Political revolutions are begotten of constructive reaction, not of liberal progressiveness." It held that the party must " wisely direct those broadening impulses of service and coöperation on the part of the individual, and of increased responsibility on the part of the Government, whether State or National, which are born of common sacrifice and closer union during this time of war." In his speech accepting the nomination, Mr. Coolidge had struck this very note. He said that public administration must be a matter of the heart as well as of the head. He had echoed this conviction during the campaign. In his administration of the office of governor he proceeded in remarkable degree to put it into effect. As Lieutenant-Governor, he had, in a position of much practical responsibility, gone through the experiences of the war. Now he was to be chief executive of the Commonwealth through quite as difficult a period, that of the immediate recoil from the manifold pressure and burden that went with the war. It is important to remember that while Mr. Coolidge's preliminary experience of public office was gained during the decade previous to the war, and

as Lieutenant-Governor he was in the closest relation to the war problems of a manufacturing State with a large immigrant population, still, as a fully responsible executive in high public office, he belongs decisively to the post-war period.

This is the point at which the question may be raised again as to Mr. Coolidge's general attitude toward new issues as they arise. The assertion continued to be made that he was a pronounced conservative, and made with a kind of conviction that would suggest the impossibility of a different view. The real fact about Mr. Coolidge is, and always has been, that he holds the political philosophy which is rooted in the best of the American constitutional tradition, but in a spirit which keeps him always advancing step by step under his own initiative and always hospitable to well-considered proposals of human betterment as they are brought forward by others. He is, indeed, conservative with regard to what seems to lie distinctly beyond a broad construction of the Constitution as the people have built it down to date; but his mind is alert to the varied possibilities of public action within those broad limits.

We need only refer here to the nature of Mr. Coolidge's record in the Legislature, as Mayor of Northampton, and as chairman of the platform committee of the State Convention of 1914.

Now it is one of the most ineradicable traits of Calvin Coolidge that he is consistent. Every public man whose official career covers even a few years has some inconsistencies to explain. President Wilson's pathway was strewn with them. Not always by any means are they to a man's discredit. Calvin Coolidge's record shows not more than two or three. But on this matter of progressive legislation he has been consistent to the last degree. In so far as he strove to check the flood of additional laws, there is no evidence whatever that he acted to decrease the proportionate number or importance of those passed which were distinctly progressive in their nature. On the contrary, every item in the social justice plank of 1914, which had not been substantially covered between that time and 1919, was taken up by him during his governorship, and in nearly every instance, whether through legislation or executive action, he did his effective part, usually with complete success, to accomplish the end in view.

When he assumed the reins of state, in January, 1919, this man of his word, whose rare signs of impatience are shown when he is asked to reaffirm a statement once made, pledged himself to these policies: Long-range conservation of peace-time man power, through the gradual elimination of the

feeble-minded strain in the community; the improvement of housing and working conditions; the encouragement of practical education, by the promotion of trade and technical schools, without neglecting training in the ideals of life, and remembering that proper consideration for teachers is the essence of the matter; protection of immigrants and effective measures of Americanization; the development of the water power of the State, realizing its great place in the future of civilization; provision of employment for returned soldiers through large schemes for the reclamation and reforestation of land, and the erection of homes; encouragement of agriculture through coöperation with all existing agencies and by assistance in marketing.

In conclusion, the Governor said: "Let there be a purpose in all your legislation to recognize the right of man to be well born, well nurtured, well educated, well employed, and well paid. This is no gospel of ease and selfishness, or class distinction, but a gospel of effort and service of universal application." He summed up his lifelong attitude when he said: "In its promotion of human welfare Massachusetts happily may not need much reconstruction, but like all other living organizations forever needs construction."

Naturally the first place in the order of time in the Governor's programme was given to provision for the returning soldiers. He signed a bill for a bonus of one hundred dollars for each World War veteran, which was considered generally an appropriate way of assisting the returning army to make its first adjustment to peace-time conditions. He approved bills to favor veterans for public office and to assist them in finding employment, together with a number of less important measures designed to show immediate and substantial appreciation of those who had served at the front.

He was deeply interested in a series of measures that were designed to protect the general body of consumers amid the scarcity of commodities and the abnormally high prices that then prevailed. A Commission on the Necessaries of Life was started on a successful career, which is still continuing. It was put in charge of the enforcement of new laws against profiteering in rents and in the price of foodstuffs, and of a measure to protect tenants from summary eviction. The question of the coal supply required much attention; and special encouragement was given to cultivation of home gardens. Toward meeting the shortage of houses, cities and towns were authorized to take property by eminent domain so as to provide dwell-

ings. Photographs of Governor Coolidge in overalls planting a tree, taken about this time, represent him encouraging two organized projects — to stimulate the use of cotton clothes when the price of wool was prohibitive, and to promote reforestation as part of a programme which he was developing to meet the then urgent general problem of unemployment.

These projects embodied an extremely delicate complication of economical, social, and political problems. They were handled by Governor Coolidge, with due consideration of the rights and equities of all concerned, with a discriminating sense of the restraining power of the law and of the full measure of positive remedial action that could be carried out. His message which led to the establishment of the Commission on the Necessaries of Life was a characteristic document. It stated in part:

> The ordinary consumer is interested and affected by retail prices. Except as these prices reflect prices at wholesale, he is uninterested in wholesale prices. While there is very little constitutional authority for the fixing of prices by law, it is of the utmost consequence that the public know that charges are reasonable. All kinds of wages have been increased, and these, of course, are reflected on the increased cost of materials. The public

know this and expect to pay these necessary increases. They ought to be informed as to whether prices in general are fair and reasonable. If they are, they are willing to pay them; if they are not, a public recognition of that condition will tend to adjust prices to a reasonable basis. . . . Government fails as an administrator of justice if it permits to go unchallenged an exorbitant charge upon the public.

He dealt in a similarly judicious but effective manner with the problem of profiteering landlords, securing a series of laws providing new forms of protection for tenants. Mr. Eugene C. Hultman, who was appointed chairman of the commission, and has been a particularly capable official in a difficult post, says:

When it is considered that most of our fundamental laws are based on property rights, the significance of laws protecting personal rights are more fully appreciated. Judging from my experience with politics and politicians, it required great courage to depart from precedent and traditional practice, even when conditions unquestionably warranted such action. To take action that will meet such a problem with justice to the various elements affected requires foresight and common-sense. Seldom is this combination found in political office. I am convinced that Mr. Coolidge possesses more of these qualities than any one else in public office with whom I have come in contact.

Generally speaking, the American public are intelligent; they possess surprising knowledge; and they are fair-minded. Curious as it may seem, the great handicap of many public officials seems to me to be the fact that they have no confidence in the public's intelligence or wisdom. Not only from this illustration, but from many other official acts of President Coolidge, have I been impressed by his great faith and trust in the public.

Possibly my experiences as an engineer in public office and with public officials make these succinct statements register on me so strongly. But my work brings me in contact with large numbers of people in all walks of life, and I find that the frank manner and understandable way in which President Coolidge has advised and confided in the public has been appreciated. Also, it has been effective. He seems to have the love of many and the respect of all.

The first paragraph in the Governor's inaugural had to do with the feeble-minded. The present writer had brought this question to his attention some time before; when he expressed interest in it, but said that, as Lieutenant-Governor, he had no power to act. A few weeks before his inauguration as Governor, he accepted an invitation to lunch with a group of social workers, who had made careful plans to set this subject before him, in the hope of making it clear to him that increased institutional equipment was needed. This was not only in the hope that the feeble-minded themselves might be

more sympathetically cared for, but with a view to the increasing segregation of these types from the community so that they might not increase their kind. That group of men, immediately interested and responsible, found that the Governor-elect had read some of the best authorities on the subject. His approach to it had, in the first place, been that of the breeder of live stock, who felt that more intelligence should be applied to the development of the coming human generations. His advice was characteristic: (1) have your whole case well in hand; (2) expect only a part of what you want.

A distinct step forward in institutional facilities for dealing with feeble-mindedness was one of the results of his administration. This included not only the building of the first wing of a new school to be added to the excellent State institutions of that type, but also the introduction of a new principle by which the defective delinquent — that is, the feeble-minded criminal — began to be set aside for special study and treatment.

Viewing the problem as fundamentally one of seeing that children were well born, he also definitely interested himself in a measure to provide for maternity nursing in the more rural parts of the State. Though he was not successful in securing its passage, his administration was instrumental

in securing much of the desired result in other ways.

A woman who was much interested in a bill designed to improve conditions in a large State institution called on the Governor and, after a full statement, urged him to look into the situation. She was accustomed to visit the institution frequently. Two weeks passed. Then she found the staff in a flutter. The Governor had come on the noon train the day before; and gone from cellar to attic; and had asked a surprising number of questions. In due time, the bill became law. This was not at all an unusual experience. It came to be a recognized fact that he had a very exceptional interest in the humanitarian work of the State. For each situation he was always ready with penetrating and stimulating inquiries. He insisted upon economy of administration, but not when in any way prejudicial to broad and far-reaching human results.

Among a considerable list of bills passed which were favorable to the cause of labor, a most important step was taken when the weekly hours of employment for women and children were reduced from fifty-four to forty-eight. It will be understood that in a State whose manufacturing interests are increasingly in competition with Southern States where working hours are much longer than

fifty-four per week, this measure was opposed by the full power of the organized manufacturers. Its passage was recognized, especially by the textile operatives, as marking one of the most important epochs of recent years in the progress of labor legislation.

The street-railway problem required special consideration, as the issue seemed everywhere to be between higher fares and bankruptcy. Cities and towns were given power to establish areas in which they could operate public street-railway lines. Later on an able and representative commission was appointed to give further study to the problem of the Boston Elevated Railway system, which, under the management of a State board, controls practically all the rapid transit facilities of Greater Boston. The report of this commission, providing for State purchase of the Cambridge extension of the subway, was received with inevitable differences of opinion; and later on there were some discreditable disclosures with regard to certain members of the Legislature who had speculated in Elevated stock while the recommendations of the report were being enacted into law. But Governor Coolidge held at the time, and reiterated in connection with later discussions, that the solution, reached after long and careful study by the com-

mission, represented the only practicable step to be taken.

The general business community was much disturbed by the attitude of a considerable number of men, mostly of foreign origin, who refused to carry out contracts under conditions of rapidly increasing costs. The Governor, assisted by his knowledge of similar occurrences among natives of the country after previous wars, intervened amid this situation with a powerful statement which helped greatly to reënforce the indispensable basis of commercial credit.

There has never been a time in the State when relations between capital and labor were more seriously disturbed; and after the authority of the State Government had been so pointedly and continuously exercised during the war, there was a natural tendency to bring every considerable difficulty to the attention of the Governor. No wonder that in one of the most important speeches made during his administration he should say, "We must humanize industry, or the system will break down"; nor that he was glad to sign a bill providing that employees, by virtue of a sort of moral equity in the business, may be made directors of the industrial corporations with which they are engaged. Throughout this cumulative

succession of disturbances, most of them causing serious inconvenience to the public, Governor Coolidge maintained his reputation for judicial fairness; but he insisted throughout upon full consideration of the often neglected third party, the general body of consumers.

There was a strike in the textile mills at Lawrence that threatened to become as serious as the one of 1914, which Mr. Coolidge's senatorial committee had finally settled. The Federal Government sought to intervene through Mr. W. B. Wilson, the Secretary of Labor. The Governor provided arbitration through Mr. Endicott, chairman of the Committee of Public Safety, who had been exceptionally successful in adjusting labor difficulties during the war.

The telephone operators left their switchboards, and Greater Boston, with some of the outlying cities, learned how hampered civilization might for a time become without the services of these young women. The Governor wired to Secretary Burleson, whose department was still exercising control, proposing, on behalf of the State and in the interest of the public, to take over control of the telephone system. This strategic move soon brought the contest to an end.

The men on the Boston Elevated Railway, which

covers Greater Boston, and on the Bay State lines which lead out from the metropolitan district, had their time of striking, and then the shopmen of the Boston and Maine Railroad — in each case causing vast inconvenience and loss to the public. Each of these situations made very exacting demands upon the State administration.

The contagion of labor unrest — which, difficult as it was, had in every case very substantial justification on account of the mounting cost of living — reached its climax in the strike of the Boston police, in which was embodied the new, strange, and ominous proposal that the State itself, in providing for the public safety, should be relegated to the position of the ordinary private employer.

It should first be clearly understood that the Boston police department is under a complicated joint administration of the city and the State. Forty years ago, on account of the relation between city politics and the police system, the appointment of the three commissioners — later a single commissioner — was vested in the Governor. The commissioner's authority extends only over the city of Boston, not over the metropolitan district. The police administration is on an entirely different status with reference to the Governor from that of

the numerous metropolitan commissions, whose work is under his official supervision in much the same way as are the regular State departments. The Governor has no legal authority to instruct the Police Commissioner, any more — as Governor Coolidge suggested — than he could give instructions to the judges of the Supreme Court, whom also he appoints.

The Police Commissioner, like all the members of the force under him, is paid out of the city treasury. The Commissioner's salary is fixed by the State, but the city government coöperates with the Commissioner in fixing all conditions of employment, including salaries, affecting the force. The Commissioner in office at the time of the strike, Edwin U. Curtis, was appointed by Governor Coolidge's predecessor; he himself had never been associated with Mr. Curtis in any way. The responsibility of Governor Coolidge for the impending situation may therefore be summed up thus: a general concern for the peace and order of the State and its capital city; special concern that a police system carried on under the authority of the State Government should be in all respects satisfactory; the definite official duty of calling out the militia and taking command of it in case of serious disorder; together with his long-established

and often practically expressed desire to promote the fair and just settlement of labor controversies.

It should also be noted that while Boston Democratic politicians frequently and bluntly express themselves glad to be free of all the complications that a police system in city politics would cause them, the police administration has been the cause of continuous disagreement between Republican governors and Democratic mayors. In this case both officials were exceptionally high-minded men; and worked together harmoniously, on the whole; but it is only just to the intelligence and to the party loyalty of either — nor is it a reflection on their strongly dominant patriotic motives — to imagine that partisan considerations were not absent from their minds.

The grievances of the police with regard to compensation were not directly in question. In fact, at the instance of the Commissioner, the salaries of the patrolmen had recently been raised two hundred dollars a year. The specific protest was against conditions at station houses, for which the city administration was responsible, and against regulations of the Commissioner that were considered too harsh.

It has been a rule of the department that members of the force should not join a trade union.

When it was understood that a union was being organized among them, Commissioner Curtis reaffirmed this order, and issued a warning that an officer could not be a member of such an organization consistently with his sworn obligations. It soon appeared that a persistent effort would be made to put through a plan of organization in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. The result was that nineteen leaders in the enterprise were put on trial for violation of the order of the department. This led at once to the threat of a strike.

In the light of so serious a danger to the order and welfare of the city, Mayor Peters formed a widely representative committee of thirty-four citizens to recommend measures of prevention. This committee, after much careful deliberation, presented a compromise recommendation that the police be permitted to continue their own long-established independent organization — which, as a matter of fact, has never been interfered with, and exists to-day — but having no affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, and that such a conclusion should be without prejudice to those members of the force who had allied themselves to the Federation, provided they withdrew from it.

The Police Commissioner might have been

inclined to the first part of the committee's recommendation. Subject to certain stipulations providing against the city's being left defenceless, he would possibly have accepted it. But he refused to consider a solution which would mean an outright pardon to the men on trial; this he felt would be subversive of all the military discipline under which a police administration must be conducted. The trial was carried through, and the nineteen officers declared guilty. However — and this is a pivotal point in the story which has usually been overlooked — they were not dismissed. They were suspended. An unmistakable opportunity was afforded them to place themselves, by proper attitude and action on their part, in line with some such solution of the complex and anxious situation as the Mayor's committee had proposed. This was not done. On the contrary, a meeting was called of all who had given in their adhesion to the union, and a strike was declared.

On the day before the strike, the Governor, in reply to a letter from the Mayor, suggested that improvements in conditions affecting the police force could be made at once; but that so far as he was concerned he saw no action that he could legally take toward preventing the strike. The Mayor had urged upon the Commissioner that a

very large proportion of the officers were intending to go out, and that ample precautions should be taken against such a situation. The Commissioner did not believe that such a situation would arise. The Mayor placed his view before the Governor. The Governor's reply was that he would coöperate with the Mayor whenever requested by him to do so.

It was on Tuesday evening, May 9, 1919, at a little after five o'clock that over one thousand policemen left their posts. Rioting began at eleven o'clock and continued unabated during the night. The next morning, the Mayor exercised his legal power to call out the militia within the city of Boston in case of disturbance. Almost at the same time, the Commissioner, as a matter of legal procedure, informed him that conditions justifying such action existed, and the Governor sent word that the Adjutant-General was prepared to execute any request for troops that he might make within the terms of the law. A little later in the day, the Mayor called for three regiments from outside the city; which the Governor sent him. The Mayor had followed up his wise policy of endeavoring to prevent the strike, by being first in the field to deal with the disturbance which it was causing. It should be said, in fairness to all concerned, that

the law contemplated that the Mayor should act first under such circumstances, once they came to pass.

The Governor had taken every step up to the strike in careful consultation with the Attorney-General, a man of high standing at the bar whom Mr. Coolidge had secured for the position when it became vacant. As soon as the overt situation began to loom he called the Adjutant-General to his side and kept him there continuously with a group of aides, day and night. He had special wires put into his living-apartment that he might be kept in touch with the situation out of hours. He had made it clear that he was solidly supporting the Police Commissioner. There had, indeed, been a time toward the last, before the strike was declared, when he felt he had done all that he legally could do, and that everything was in the hands of the Commissioner. Some, who anxiously continued to urge plans of action upon the Governor and those associated with him, found difficulty in understanding this attitude, reasonable as it was in the light of all the inner facts.

By Thursday morning, matters were mending. There is considerable conflict of opinion as to how far this was the case. The Mayor's committee, in its report, states that by that time " order had gener-

ally been restored in the city." The Governor and his advisers felt that the situation was still serious. They considered that they had a special reason for anticipating that it might be much more so. The Governor was visited that morning by a large delegation representing most of the important industries upon which, not the city of Boston only, but the entire metropolitan population, must depend for food, transportation by land and water, communication by telephone, and the general conduct of business. These labor leaders gave the Governor the option of reinstating the striking policemen or finding eastern Massachusetts paralyzed by a general strike. He simply repeated his purpose of supporting the Commissioner, and stood in silence until the deputation passed out. Later, when he was told that the trade unions were voting overwhelmingly for a general strike, he said calmly, "We'll meet that situation when we have to." As a matter of fact, nothing of the kind took place.

The situation on Thursday thus led the Governor to call out the whole of the State Guard for such use in any part of the State as might be demanded. This action automatically ended the Mayor's control of the Boston members of the guard. It seemed at the time to friends of the Mayor that it was a belated attempt to supersede and set him aside.

The Mayor was exercising a right, as well as fulfilling a duty, in calling out the Boston members of the guard to meet a temporary Boston situation. This the Governor recognized. When it took on the appearance of a policing problem that would continue for weeks to come, and especially as it threatened to be both broadened and intensified by sympathetic strikes, the right and duty became unmistakably his own. The Governor felt no doubt on this point. When others held that he should have called out the whole State Guard at an earlier stage, the Governor, while not modifying at all his own judgment, admitted that there were valid arguments in support of their position. It can be said, with the authority of the Mayor, that after the strike was actually precipitated, and up to the action of the Governor in calling out the State Guard, the Mayor and the Governor were in substantial accord, and the Mayor approved the Governor's decisions as to his course. It is certain that any disinterested person, taking the pains to understand the extraordinary legal complications of the situation, would realize that they were in themselves sufficient to allow for nearly all differences as to procedure among the responsible officials.

It has been represented by certain partisan critics that by the time the Governor called out the

State Guard, he was merely following the drift of public sentiment. It is forgotten that he provided the Mayor with a large body of men on Wednesday. As a matter of fact he was seriously warned that such action would greatly injure his party, and would in all probability end his public career. "Perhaps you are right," he said, and proceeded to sign the proclamation. Had he expressed himself more fully on this occasion, he would undoubtedly have used words similar to those by which he repelled the suggestion of intimidation when he was Mayor of Northampton. It is one of the significant measures of his whole attitude that the New York newspaper men who came to Boston in numbers when the strike began all took it for granted that the Governor would have to back down.

After all, however, what made the Boston police strike a matter of national concern was not any question as to how the details of the contest were conducted, but the fundamental principle of its relation to law, order, and the stability of government. The decisive outcome of this uprising was an authoritative declaration that served to set at rest similar disturbed situations in a large number of American cities, in the national capital where the Federal Government itself was involved, and

even in foreign cities. The friends of Mr. Curtis say, and very properly, that he first took the absolute stand. No one has more freely and fully recognized this than Mr. Coolidge. Without taking any of the credit due to a man whose death was hastened by the strain of this struggle, it can be said with no possibility of denial that Mr. Curtis's personality alone could never have commanded broad public assent from even the local community. He was something of an autocrat, as a police commissioner must needs be. He was an employer of labor, and had not been considered to be friendly to the trade-union cause. An extreme attitude with regard to the police was by many considered not essentially different from such an attitude as he would have taken to a body of private employees.

The case of Calvin Coolidge was radically different. Through his whole public career, from first to last, he had been favorable to the broad principles of trade-unionism; and had continuously expressed his attitude in tangible ways. This fact had been recognized by labor organizations over and over again. Several significant votes to this effect had recently been taken. Only a few weeks earlier he had signed the forty-eight-hour bill. Just before the strike, he had addressed a

State convention of the American Federation of Labor. On this occasion, he said:

> With proper coöperation between labor and employers the future prosperity of the country may be doubly assured. . . . Human labor will never again be cheap. . . . Labor should supply wise suggestion on the future conduct of business and help to direct public sentiment.

Finally came the telegram from Samuel Gompers urging, in conclusion, that the Police Commissioner be displaced. To this went Governor Coolidge's reply which has become famous, through both direct and indirect results, as one of the epoch-making documents in American history:

> The right of the police of Boston to affiliate has always been questioned, never granted, is now prohibited. . . . There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time.

It has been well said that " in politics the source of an idea counts for nothing; only its realization is important." The Police Commissioner and the Mayor received messages of the same general purport from Mr. Gompers; and each had his opportunity to reply. It was now their part to support the Governor, which they both did.

Police Commissioner Curtis did not, and could not, make the vital distinction between ordinary

strikes and those against the Government. Governor Coolidge was in position to enforce upon the public mind the sharp distinction between the two. It was in this way that he not only expressed, but actually precipitated and crystallized, a new national precedent, whose far-reaching importance can hardly be overstated. There is ample ground for believing that Governor Coolidge made up his mind in the beginning what his attitude would be.

In fact his first interview with the Attorney-General was conclusive. There was a decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, written by Judge Oliver Wendell Holmes, which held a similar strike in New Bedford to be tantamount to military desertion. But even were the extreme opposite supposition tenable, it was he who brought the issue to a decision, gave it its breadth and convincing power through the State on account of his attitude toward labor, and, above all, embodied it in reverberating words which echoed throughout the country.

When asked if he would not take steps to reinstate the policemen who had struck, he said, " I can think of no circumstances under which any of them could be taken back, but you understand that is a matter for Commissioner Curtis to decide." It remained to support the Commissioner in the difficult

task of enlisting and training a new force to take the place of the strikers, which Mr. Curtis accomplished in due time with marked success.

One of the most suggestive instances of Mr. Coolidge's brevity and one indicating his attitude in general toward the thousands of congratulatory messages which he received, was a note in reply to a long and expressive letter from a college classmate. It ran as follows:

DEAR NEWT:

I'm glad you liked what I did about the police strike. I thought you would.

Yours truly

CAL.

This experience, sufficiently exciting in itself, followed by the national publicity which it brought, could not disturb Governor Coolidge's calm and thorough fulfillment of the demands of his position. Certain strong individual traits of his in the pursuit of administrative duties had come to be recognized by those who were close to him. He took time to do things; would not be hurried. Yet the trace of casualness and unreality, so often found in men of worthy aims in public office, was marked by its absence. He was as keen for the result as a business man. The general atmosphere of his office was in accordance; correspondence was

not allowed to fall in arrears. Results were always planned for in advance; his rule seemed to be that of the good chess player — keep three moves ahead of the game. He has two of the special traits of the able executive — a remarkable memory and a capacity for detail without getting lost in it. He is quite accessible to callers; and has frequent noon conferences with newspaper men, who get clean-cut, adequate statements from him. His habit of mind is cautious. Every project brought before him is analyzed from unexpected angles. But he is always hospitably inclined to forward-looking suggestions. His yea was yea, and his nay, nay; and " you know the Governor does not change his mind," were words often on his secretary's lips.

He passed on to perhaps the most important single piece of administrative work that any chief executive of the State has ever undertaken. While he was Lieutenant-Governor there had been a constitutional convention. The delegate body of this convention had been made up in such way that it secured a strong nucleus of the best and foremost men of the State. Its sessions had at times been suggestive of the great days of the past in the quality of the debates and in the high patriotic motives that controlled its actions. The moral effect on the people of the State was profound; and it

was a fortunate fact for Governor Coolidge that he could begin his administration in the atmosphere which the Constitutional Convention created. He welcomed this atmosphere. Along with the high purposes that had animated the administration of the State during the war — reënforced by the activity of the distinguished personnel of the Committee of Public Safety — this influence gave Mr. Coolidge opportunity for and stimulus to the highest standards of achievement. In ways sometimes not understood, but always characteristic of his temperament, he kept to the level of those standards.

One of the conclusions of the convention was to the effect that the overgrown and unwieldy department system, which had reached out until there were one hundred and eighteen different departments, should be reorganized to eliminate a great amount of unnecessary overhead, and prevent cross-purposes in management and expenditure; and be so coördinated that the Governor could have frequent and satisfactory conferences with a group of officials who would together constitute a sort of cabinet covering the whole State administration. This action was based on the recommendations of a very able commission which had the advice of the best experts in large-scale organization. The re-

sultant departments were to be not over twenty in number.

The Legislature was allowed three years in which to bring about the change. Many of its members were little inclined to precipitate trouble for themselves by hastening a situation full of embarrassment. The responsibility thus to fall upon the Governor was so great that it was thought in many quarters he would be glad to see it postponed, on the chance, perhaps, of escaping it altogether. Politically there were hundreds of separate charges of dynamite in the situation. Here was the comment of one editorial writer who understood the seriousness of the task, but also foresaw what the Governor's attitude was going to be:

> Governor Coolidge will have the most sweeping task of appointment that ever came to a governor. He will be bound to continue not one of the present officials at the head of the existing commissions and boards. He can reorganize the entire executive government of the State. With some governors there would be apprehension. He is equal to the task by every measure of sound judgment and high honor.

He immediately made it known to the Legislature that he expected action to be taken at once. He kept in constant touch with the committee to

draft the enabling bill. The heads of departments received an intimation that any action on their part toward delaying the process would be viewed by him with serious disapproval. He exerted all proper pressure until the measure was passed.

Then came the task of rearranging the whole of the principal personnel at the State House, uprooting many altogether, introducing much new department leadership, providing for all sorts of readjustments, holding the countless threads of months of conference — all guided by the determination to lift the service of the State to a distinctly higher level. Finally, without any previous announcement or foreshadowings of any sort, he made public the names of all the new appointees at one time. The list thus had to be considered by the press and the public in its entirety. The opportunity for individual disaffection was minimized. The approval of the new order of things, in general, was well-nigh universal.

This achievement drew deeply upon all of Mr. Coolidge's painstaking study of the State administration, beginning a dozen years before, and made thorough, accurate, and well-balanced during his three years as Lieutenant-Governor. It brought into play, in a way more characteristic, and, on the whole, more significant, than the police strike, all

his strong qualities of mind and character. As an administrator, he could not have met a more severe test; and he could hardly have met the test more completely. He had not had, during the war, the opportunity of participating broadly in any of its combined, large-scale business and military undertakings. But he had deeply absorbed their lesson. In this reconstruction of the administration of the State, he illustrated both kinds of capacity, and both kinds of instinct for the end in view. His action shed a reflected light on some of the mooted questions with regard to the police strike. After the most thorough preparations behind the scenes, at the first opportune moment, the result came in full force like a stroke of lightning.

It was inevitable, in making up the entire list of the department heads of the State, that political considerations should enter in. Some of the appointments under the new system were criticised from this point of view. It can be said, however, without fear of contradiction, that there were no appointees to posts of any importance — and this would except only a few members of commissions — who were not qualified at least in very substantial degree for the duty to be fulfilled. Mr. Whiting has referred very properly to " the curious ability he appears to have to combine govern-

mental processes with adroit political proceedings." [1] A man with Calvin Coolidge's almost unexampled capacity for discerning all the bearings, round the whole circle of possibility, of each event as it transpires, will certainly understand, provide for, and take advantage of, the major political gains to be secured in every important situation that he has to deal with.

Every man that has ever held high elective office has calculated upon such gains, and in greater or less degree has acted so as to secure them. But there have been few if any who, more fully than he, have subordinated party claims to the public good. He has, from the beginning of his public career, like Theodore Roosevelt, had no hesitation in working with the so-called "practical" politicians when they were going his way; and, as a party leader, has given them some measure of recognition. But his appointments under the reorganization, as well as his appointments generally, will show that for all key positions men of recognized exceptional fitness have been sought; while even when, with some minor posts, political considerations may weigh more heavily, they still have had to yield to predominant standards of capacity and efficiency. As a matter of fact, it is

[1] *President Coolidge.* By Edward E. Whiting. Boston, 1923.

the testimony of State House employees that Governor Coolidge will be especially remembered for promotions among their ranks on the basis of merit and without regard to party. It is certain that no governor was ever more free of racial bias in his appointments.

In many ways, which reveal themselves only after searching inquiry, one finds that he was constantly giving proof of continuous thought and care for human need. He would, on a public occasion, go out of his way to surprise a person, who had consulted him weeks before, with a practical suggestion that would greatly promote some measure of social betterment. And to those who were near him it was an expected experience to be commissioned to provide needed help to some individual in difficulty without disclosing the source of it.

The police strike was the almost exclusive issue of the campaign that followed. The opposing candidate was the same as in the previous year. On the one hand, he endeavored to show that Governor Coolidge had not been equal to the demands of the crisis, and, on the other, he promised to restore the men who went out on strike. During the first part of the campaign there was some concern lest the danger pointed out to Mr. Coolidge at the time

of the strike, that his public career might be brought to an end, would be realized. But an ever-stronger undercurrent of sentiment among all classes began to come to the surface. Even among the ranks of organized labor, there was a definite feeling that the labor movement had been misrepresented through the rash action of younger men on the former police force, and that it was better in any case not to have trade-unionism bound up with the police system.

One of the most impressive lists of public-spirited citizens ever made up in Massachusetts was published under a strong appeal for Mr. Coolidge's reëlection. There are numbers of typical representatives of the old families who are always free to vote with incisive independence. Fifteen years before, another shoe manufacturer was the Democratic candidate, and the situation that arose led to the composition of a since familiar refrain:

> Here's to old Massachusetts,
> The land of the sacred cod,
> Where the Adamses vote for Douglas,
> And the Cabots walk with God.

But this time the Adamses and the Cabots, led by President Eliot, all stood by Coolidge. The result was the greatest total vote, and the greatest

majority, in the history of the State. As an executive officer, as leader in a crisis, and as exponent of a newly formulated but decisive principle affecting the stability of the American government, Calvin Coolidge stood out with an emphasis of approval from those close to the facts, such as no peace-time governor of the United States had ever before received. The significance of the victory to the Nation as a whole was well-nigh universally recognized. President Wilson sent this message: "I congratulate you upon your election as a victory for law and order. When this is the issue, all Americans stand together."

Mr. Washburn says that after Mr. Coolidge's first election as Lieutenant-Governor, in the middle of the afternoon, "when most successful candidates were easily congratulated in public places, he was found alone in that inside room at the Adams House, sitting by an open window."[1] The day after his great victory on the police strike issue, a classmate, and one of his few intimate college friends, happening to be in Northampton in the evening, and knowing that the Governor was there, undertook to find and join the line of those whose congratulations he would be receiving. The

[1] *Calvin Coolidge; His First Biography.* By R. M. Washburn. Boston, 1923.

Governor was finally discovered at home, alone in his little sitting-room, absorbed in a book.

These continued to be the two Coolidge homes. The Governor and his wife did not wish to disturb the boys' schooling or their mother's care of them. He still wanted to have an escape at the week-end. He felt that if he secured a house in Boston, and undertook to entertain, he would be deprived of the opportunity, meaning so much in his view of public service, of the thorough study of administration problems and of deliberate preparation for public occasions. Mrs. Coolidge made her headquarters in Northampton, but she was frequently in Boston. She was present at many gatherings in the city, in addition to those at which she accompanied the Governor. They welcomed occasional opportunities to be very informal and personal in meeting plain people. It occurred to the secretary of a woman's club meeting at a settlement house that a coming special occasion would be worthy the attendance of the highest officer of the State. In reply to a letter, what was the happy surprise of the members to see the Governor and his wife appear. Each made an address, and both remained through most of the evening. With regard to Mrs. Coolidge's experiences in general during her husband's administration at the State House,

she made a characteristic remark after it was over: "I have enjoyed being the wife of the Governor of Massachusetts. I have met many delightful people, and have had many delightful experiences. But then I always meet delightful people and have delightful experiences." She was then, as always, modest about her really thoroughgoing assistance to her husband, saying, "Wives don't make governors, nor even councilmen."

Governor Coolidge was able to show in his second inaugural that nearly all his proposals of the year before had been put into effect. "No one year," he was able to say, "had ever witnessed like accomplishments."

In this official address, conscious of large achievement, with the assurance that he had the people of the State behind him as no governor ever had before — conditions conducive to the freest personal expression — he made a remarkable statement under the head of "Humanize Government":

> It is preëminently the province of government to protect the weak. The average citizen does not lead the life of independence that was his in former days under a less complex order of society. When a family tilled the soil and produced its own support, it was independent. When it produces but one article, and that in a plant owned by others, it is dependent. It may be

infinitely better off under the latter plan, but it is evident it needs a protection which before was not required. Let Massachusetts continue to regard with the gravest solicitude the well-being of her people. By prescribed law, by authorized publicity, by informed public opinion let her continue to strive to provide that all conditions under which her citizens live are worthy of the high estate of man. Healthful housing, wholesome food, sanitary working conditions, reasonable hours, a fair wage for a fair day's work, opportunity full and free, justice speedy, impartial, and at a cost within the reach of all, are among the objects, not only to be sought, but made absolutely certain and secure. Government is not, must not be, a cold, impersonal machine, but a human and more human agency, appealing to the reason, satisfying the heart, full of mercy, assisting the good, resisting the wrong, delivering the weak from any impositions of the strong. Massachusetts is committed to this and will strive consistently for its complete realization. This is not paternalism. It is not a servitude imposed from without, but the freedom of a righteous self-direction from within.

These words outline the central working motive of Calvin Coolidge as Governor; and it was put into effect in a surpassing degree.

The second term was more noticeable, from the general public point of view, for what the Governor managed to evade than even for his official acts. During the whole year he was besieged to

enter the lists for the presidency; or, if not that, to allow his friends to do so in his behalf. Refusing continuously to be distracted from the task in hand, he held a constant guiding hand on legislative policy, and approved a long list of bills, some of the most important of which have already been mentioned. He established the vitally important beginnings of the new departmental system, but repeated with emphasis his experience as Mayor of Northampton, in finding that the chief executive, himself, must be the continuous active link of connection between departments having services so diverse. It was characteristic of him, however, that he sought always to reënforce the department heads, rather than to invade their sphere of authority.

A measure was passed by the Legislature approving of the manufacture and sale of beer containing two and three-quarters per cent of alcohol. This was designed to be a sort of opening wedge for a national attack on the Volstead law. In his veto of this bill, Governor Coolidge made a brief statement which has been commended by the highest judicial authorities as setting forth luminously and powerfully the constitutional status of prohibition.

His veto of a measure for increasing the salaries

of members of the Legislature from one thousand to fifteen hundred dollars was a characteristic document in which he urged that such service should not be for gain, and that as the session took up less than half the year members should be able to amply supplement the income received from the State. With one of his characteristic quiet expressions of the "gravity of mirth," he later remarked, "So far as I am aware, I have signed every bill which had the backing of the workers, with the exception of the bill to increase the salaries of members of the Legislature." On the other hand, he did not hesitate to say, as one of the lessons of the police strike, that just as in preceding years restrictions had to be placed on organized capital, so now reasonable regulation of the power of organized labor had become necessary.

Early in January his friends had begun definitely to organize a movement for him as the Republican nominee for the presidency. Offices were opened in Washington. Very soon, by his order, they were closed. Presently he issued a statement to the effect that he must confine himself strictly to his duties as Governor, and could not be understood as being a candidate for the presidency. He has always held a high respect

for every office that he has filled. He was devotedly loyal to the State of Massachusetts. Though born in Vermont, he said that his "family had temporarily left Massachusetts ninety-two years before." With a peculiar quality of personal modesty, there was something almost sacred to him in the dignity of the governorship. "I have a great desire to walk humbly and discharge my obligations," he said. He was indeed in some sense like an artist who could not be interrupted in the midst of a great design.

His friends, however, could not be deterred. A volume of various addresses made by Mr. Coolidge chiefly while Lieutenant-Governor, under the impressive title suggested by the publishers, but in Mr. Coolidge's words, "Have Faith in Massachusetts," was got out by Mr. Stearns, and was quickly received as a present-day New England classic on the plane of those of old. Mr. Stearns and two other graduates of Amherst, with the assistance of skilled organizers of campaigns, devoted their entire time from the early part of the year to quiet but penetrating and wide-reaching personal work. The book was their principal instrument. Something over seventy thousand copies of it were placed, through friendly channels, in the hands of leaders of opinion throughout the

country. Shortly before the nominating convention, a friend of Mr. Coolidge who was deeply interested in the prohibition cause sent out to a carefully selected national list fifty thousand copies of his veto of the two and three-fourths per cent beer bill; and it appeared, when the delegates assembled, that this had made a marked impression favorable to Massachusetts, as a ratifying State, and its candidate in not a few influential quarters throughout the West.

Mr. Coolidge's supporters felt that he might as well have received the presidential nomination if the Massachusetts delegation had stood solidly for him. Many of them were pledged to General Leonard Wood. Certain established leaders were slow to recognize a new national figure who had risen in their midst. It goes with this point of view to hold that the police strike alone served to bring Coolidge to the front; and that his share in the crisis was at best a secondary one. We have presented the facts, and the verdict of national sentiment has amply confirmed the conclusion which they indicate — that his part was an indispensable one for the immediate end in view, and an exclusive one for expressing the final national judgment on the principle involved.

The true story of his solidly constructive services

in the State of Massachusetts, taken consecutively, and followed cumulatively, together with his elevated and illuminating public teachings — all estimated under the cool standards of a present-day statesmanship — clearly suggests that such a career in the States of New York, Ohio, or Indiana, where considerations of political geography obtain in relation to national politics, would without question have brought him into the very centre of discussion as a candidate for the presidency. "Surely," said one editor, "these are not degenerate days when a man can be nominated for the vice-presidency who neither has great riches nor comes from a pivotal State." Perhaps in this contemporary case, we see the beginning of the end of the wholly artificial conditions which have so limited and hampered the choice of the people in national elections.

It was, of course, clear that the convention, or its leaders in any case, had no intention, after Mr. Harding's nomination for the presidency, of nominating Mr. Coolidge as his companion in the contest. The artificial restrictions upon that nomination have always, if anything, been more narrowing than those affecting the head of the ticket. The underlying sentiment which Governor Coolidge's administration, sayings, progress had de-

veloped throughout the country burst all the restraints of policy and tradition. There was much that was prophetic in the broad wave of response that greeted the spontaneous nominating speech of the unknown Judge McCammont, of Oregon, who had read "Have Faith in Massachusetts."

Four years before, a single prophetic note had been struck in the lobbies of the national convention. It calls up again the remarkable story of a friend's insight, devotion, and patriotic zeal which will always be remembered in connection with the career of Calvin Coolidge. Senator Crane met Judge Field, Mr. Coolidge's preceptor as a law student. He said: "I see your friend, Frank Stearns, is here. Who do you think his candidate is?" The reply was: "I don't know. Hughes I suppose." "No, it's Calvin Coolidge." And they both had a hearty laugh. At the convention of 1920, no one worked harder to secure the presidential nomination for Mr. Coolidge, and no one was more bitterly disappointed at the attitude of certain Massachusetts leaders, than Senator Crane.

It is a particularly significant fact, if not indeed quite unique in politics, that Mr. Coolidge's two powerful helpers, quite independently, discerned far-reaching promise in him in advance of any large fulfilment. Mr. Stearns made the discovery after Mr. Crane; but his faith was even greater.

CHAPTER IX

VICE-PRESIDENT

THE "Boston Globe" said, "Calvin Coolidge was the first Vice-President in a hundred years who was not wished on the country; the country wished him on the Republican Party."

In the campaign he exemplified his deep-seated inclination to hold the Nation always above party, while still being always a loyal party man. He entered into no personal attack upon President Wilson. In fact the nearest approach to any such thing, even during the war, was in these words:

> The Administration said it kept the peace. What America should have required was not the keeping of the peace, but the keeping of the soul. It was the process, not the result, that counted. Nathan Hale and Joseph Warren did not keep the peace. Nor did Washington and Lincoln. But they kept the faith.

His Southern trip during the campaign was the means undoubtedly of producing a break in the Solid South. Tennessee would hardly have given a Republican majority without his appeal to the mountaineers of that State. Speaking from the car platform to unfamiliar crowds was a doubly

new and difficult experience. But he soon found that he was having a genuinely appreciative response. His simplicity, directness, and plainness of expression reached the minds of these dwellers in the more remote highlands. He had a true sympathetic approach to them from being himself also a child of the Appalachians. When he came into the heart of the New South, at Atlanta, sectional and party lines were in part forgotten. The fact of the narrowing doctrinal divergence between two great parties appeared in the discussion of protection. But above all there came out, more clearly, perhaps, than on any previous occasion in the South, the realization that the World War had finally obliterated the last semblance of the old "unpleasantness." Here was the unmistakable Yankee twang in the thick of the Southern drawl; and this accent, proverbial of all that could formerly cause recoil in the South, was calmly asking its federal suffrage. An acquaintance was thus established which later on gave Mr. Coolidge, as Vice-President, an opportunity, now with a background of federal authority, to express his thoughtful sympathy with Southern sentiment, through the results of his study of Southern colonial history and particularly through his reverence for the character of General Robert E. Lee. In the cam-

paign, and later, he showed the white South that he could express to the negroes his conviction that they were justifying Lincoln's faith, without giving a rebuff to the new but characteristic impulse among the best Southern leaders toward fuller and fairer understanding between the races.

But his personal participation in the campaign was decidedly limited. He still kept close to the duties of the governorship. The record of his acts, not only amid the sensational stirrings of the police strike the previous year, but in connection with his whole course since the movement for his nomination had begun, reënforced by the impression gained throughout the country from the reading of "Have Faith in Massachusetts," represented almost his entire campaign appeal.

What he was, judged from what he had said, had done, and had refrained from, continued to be the subject of the kind of newspaper comment which was steadily giving him a unique distinction in the public mind. The "New York Times" saw in him "apparently in all respects a New England statesman of the ancient type."

The "Minneapolis Tribune" said:

> What is called Coolidge luck is the result of a character strong and sturdy, a New England conscience and will. He did not shine out, on account of excessive

shyness, mistakenly thought to be reserve and coldness. Opportunity knocked — he was there, and all these qualities came out in splendor. Without the guide of precedent, taking the initiative in one of the most unusual and trying situations, he laid a course so representative of the common will that he apparently reached fame in a day. But conscience, virtue, and courage do not grow overnight.

But perhaps most suggestive of all, as foreshadowing the great popular response that was coming, is this from the Sisseton, South Dakota, "Courier":

> Governor Coolidge didn't go chasing the presidential nomination. He did not have any campaign fund. He has always lived in a six-room house. He does not put on any dog. He is just a common fellow like the folks in Sisseton and Roberts County. And you can't scare him with a cannon.

During the summer he had made his headquarters at home in Northampton. The formal exercises connected with the notification to him of his nomination took place on the Smith College recreation grounds. "Strength to perform great tasks," he said, "comes to those who have their heart in their work; and I have confidence that this will be my lot." In connection with the celebration in Northampton after the election, the pro-

cession included delegations from all fraternal and social organizations to honor one who was a member of none. When the time came to leave for Washington, and a large company of townspeople came down to the station to see Mr. and Mrs. Coolidge off, Mr. Coolidge's one marked emotional farewell was reserved for James Lucey, the cobbler, whom he embraced, calling him " my guide, philosopher, and friend."

As a sort of postscript to Massachusetts, whose significance would not be lost elsewhere, he stated when he arrived in Washington that as Vice-President he would have nothing to do with federal patronage in Massachusetts. His own personal attitude with regard to the perquisite side of politics was strongly reënforced by the fact that his nomination and election had come of a spontaneous momentum of the people, and he was bounden to no one except to the people as a whole to serve them according to the clear dictates of his judgment and conscience. It was of the profoundest significance for the future that his Washington career could begin in so complete an atmosphere of freedom, so far as political claims were concerned. There were no Massachusetts entanglements — no political hangers-on, no financial interests to be rewarded, no friends of the kind that would be

looking for something. It was a radiant instance of a man whose actual front to the people, and not any influence, in the sense of control for better or for worse, beside, behind, or beneath, had made him a national figure.

Two classes of men chafed at this result. One was represented by the powerful group of Senators who secured the nomination of one of their colleagues for President, and were certain they would nominate another for the vice-presidency. Taken at his best, they resented it that this man had not gone through a series of preparatory stages at Washington — had perhaps not achieved seasoned respect for all the past and existing structure of the intrinsic and collateral processes of federal government. The other group was made up of certain reformers who, from meagre reports, satisfied themselves that Mr. Coolidge, in his whole outlook, was rather narrowly a man of the past. The result was another of the remarkable instances which our national history affords, of the way in which the American people, by a sound instinct, give their confidence before having in their possession what might be termed complete positive proof. There have always been these two opposite groups of doubters; they will continue to doubt.

It has remained one of the unsolved problems of

the American system of government in what way the vice-presidency could be made a reality in itself. In the case of Mr. Coolidge, its prescribed functions represented insignificance and emptiness compared with those of the governorship of Massachusetts. It had a meaning to him, of course, that "the Constitution identified the vice-presidency with the Senate." He spoke of the Senate chamber "as a citadel of liberty, with a record for wisdom unsurpassed" — words which he was destined momentarily to qualify. But his service as presiding officer of the Senate, while carried out with conspicuous fairness, could not in any way engage a mind that is ever so intensely on the pursuit. He will hardly be remembered as one of the most successful incumbents of this position.

The original plan of President Harding that Mr. Coolidge should sit with the Cabinet was certainly suggested largely by the Vice-President's personal qualities and by his successful previous administrative experiences. The hearty response from the public to this proposal showed that there was a widespread conviction that Mr. Coolidge had qualified as one of the all-around ablest public executives in the country, a fact which was recognized by the press. This step was interpreted as placing the vice-presidency on a new level of im-

portance. The "New York Tribune" said: "The way to end for all time the naming of a Vice-President of mediocre ability is precisely by giving Mr. Coolidge room for his ability." While other papers were not so sure that it would serve as such a guarantee, they welcomed the experiment for all that it would be worth.

It was expected that this new relationship would bring something like executive functions to the vice-presidency, an aspect of the office which, with a few negligible exceptions, it has not possessed. To Mr. Coolidge, at first, it harked back to his three years as Lieutenant-Governor, when he sat in the Governor's Council, and provided tangible assistance to the Governor in various directions. But as soon as the experiment was under way, it came to him very clearly that his part was that of a passive observer. This attitude was emphasized at first by the fear expressed on Capitol Hill that the presence of the presiding officer of the Senate at Cabinet meetings would be likely to bring confusion and misunderstanding between the two branches of the government. But this danger did not manifest itself; for Mr. Coolidge took practically no part in the Cabinet meetings, and, as a matter of fact, volunteered not at all. Under such circumstances, he undertook to convey nothing

directly or indirectly from the Senate to the Cabinet, or vice versa.

He did, however, exercise to the full his highly developed faculty for listening. Indeed, his whole experience in the vice-presidency was utilized by him as a special course in education; just as every phase of his previous career had been. Perhaps his way of studying law in an office, where he was in effect practising, gave the clue to a strong mental inclination, and made him always a student as he served. Here, at any rate, was a wholly unexampled opportunity to one in his position. Instead of being gently or even rudely shut out, and looked upon as a kind of evil fate, as had been the lot of all previous Vice-Presidents, the inmost procedure of the Administration was freely and continuously opened to him. He acquired, of course, a vast store of information about functions of the departments, about the personnel of the Government, and, what was to prove still more immediately valuable, about the duties of the presidency, and the methods of a President in office. His astonishing memory and his instinctively and irrepressibly projecting mind kept gathering up all these threads and shaping them over into a characteristic executive programme of his own. But not in any way so as to lessen his loyalty to his chief; for his attitude

toward superiors, at every step in his career, had expressed an always more controlling purpose than that which kept urging him forward.

To the general public throughout the country, reading the Washington correspondence, it would seem as if the chief occupation of the Vice-President consisted in dining out. Night after night we kept reading of the Vice-President and Mrs. Coolidge being the guests of honor at this, that, or the other embassy or great private house. One began to wonder whether this was really Calvin Coolidge, this society man. The President cannot accept such invitations, and it is in a definite sense an obligation upon the Vice-President to take his place. It can be said that this particular Vice-President did not enjoy the rôle. He could not make it seem real to himself; and probably no one could have come farther short of filling it. His incapacity for ordinary conversation among strangers, which, of course, is and always has been a definite handicap, assumed an emphasis that would have been unhappy to all concerned but for his own calmness about it. He knew, of course, in general, that his personal traits were the subject of gossip and embroidered anecdote, and the total effect on him of all these brilliant occasions was depressing. Here, as at so many other times in life where social

amenities make their claim, he found the help of Mrs. Coolidge of incalculable value. Her direct, simple, versatile way of meeting people, her downright interest in all the first-hand human actualities and amenities, and her wholesome enjoyment of the varied interplay of life, made her a delightful guest — with just enough sense of the dignity of her position so that respect for it would never be lost.

Mr. Coolidge's associations with cultural institutions in Washington was very much more to his taste. He enjoyed his service as chairman ex-officio of the regents of the Smithsonian Institution, with its many scientific pursuits and exhibits. He was ready for call in connection with many special occasions at schools and colleges, and he was often heard at the constantly increasing number of national conventions held at Washington.

It was a genuine source of distinction to his incumbency of the office that he lifted to a high place of thought and motive that service of appearing on the public platform throughout the country which has been increasingly expected of the Vice-President. The limitations under which the office suffers prevent any Vice-President from expressing views of his own upon questions of current public policy. He cannot, except in the most general way or under

special instructions, undertake to discuss the President's acts or intentions. Sometimes he can, when specially requested by his chief, give formal and specific accounts of what the departments are doing. But the whole situation is one that is likely to be baffling in the extreme. The utterances of the second officer of the Nation, under such circumstances, have been too likely to be shallow, and sometimes trifling.

H. G. Wells, in his "Outline of History" — which Mr. Coolidge read from cover to cover after he went to Washington — finds one of the chief reasons for the decline of Roman freedom in that there was "no wide organization of education to base the ordinary citizen's mind upon the idea of service and obligation to the republic." Mr. Coolidge, as Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, instituted a teaching function designed to develop and emphasize this preëminent purpose of universal education. His addresses under this head — and he has never given any that are not — had a significant part in moving the American people to want him for Vice-President. The book, "The Price of Freedom," gathers up the principal results of this work during his vice-presidency, as "Have Faith in Massachusetts" did for the similar service when Lieutenant-Governor. These books will take a

permanent place in our literature of political science, not for the originality of their ideas, but for the way in which those ideas are set before the minds of the people, for their teaching power. This precise contribution is so genuine and so definitely answers to a widespread need in our civic life, that Mr. Coolidge will be remembered for having added an important new function to two otherwise self-effacing offices. It is hardly necessary to state to any who have listened to him or read his books that he is very much in earnest about the opportunity of educational service which public office affords, whatever the office may be. It is to him by no means a mere incidental official duty, but of the heart of the matter.

For the first time he was able to take that deeper breath which made long speeches possible. Those published in the second book average twice as long as the addresses in the first book; and the unpublished ones are still longer. The whole number of his addresses that had manuscript form, up to the end of his vice-presidency, was more than two hundred. It is clear, therefore, that Mr. Coolidge, man of few words in personal contact, has not failed of ways of expressing himself somewhat fully to the American people. The response to his utterances, spoken and written, has shown that

the people feel he has had things of consequence to say.

The simplicity and severity of his style remains the same. It is of the very texture of his nature. There is some increase of the tendency to a balanced and rhythmic flow of words; but he is still at the farthest remove from the forensic type of oratory that filled the textbooks of the last generation. Some of his speeches will undoubtedly furnish forth young declaimers of the coming decades. He continues the studious tradition set by Presidents Roosevelt and Wilson, though in a quite different way. Some of the authorities at the Congressional Library who looked over the proofs of the last book were surprised to find the wide range of his historical knowledge; and have come to regard him as a genuine reappearance in the seats of the mighty of the old-time New-Englander. He is, however, not a person of very wide general reading. He is voracious as a thinker, if the expression may be used, rather than as a reader. As Vice-President, he had such opportunity, along with such stimulus as he had never had before, to think his way through some of the great principles of the American government and American civilization.

The addresses published in the book, " The Price of Freedom," find their most important keynotes in

the relation of education and religion to democratic government. The place of the teacher is to Mr. Coolidge an exalted one. He says:

> The standards which teachers are required to maintain are continually rising. Their work takes on a new dignity. It is rising above a calling, above a profession, into the realm of art. It must be dignified by technical training, ennobled by character, and sanctified by faith.

The necessity of highly educated leadership in general is much emphasized. Everybody must and does come under the influence of a university education. Neither Washington nor Lincoln had the advantage of a college education, but had it not been for colleges neither Washington nor Lincoln would ever have been heard of.

> While the teaching of ideals has its source in institutions of higher learning, the motive power of progress and reform has not come from the high and mighty, but from the mass of the people. Such movements have their origin close to the soil. The support for religious freedom came from the people.

Religion laid the foundation for both education and government.

> The early settlement of New England was a religious movement. Its early government was a religious government. There was likewise a profound spiritual re-

vival in the middle part of the eighteenth century, represented by the teachings and philosophy of Jonathan Edwards and the preaching of Whitefield in the Old World and the New, which preceded the successful assertion of the right of self-government. It was because religion gave the people a new importance and a new glory that they demanded a new freedom and a new government. We cannot in our generation reject the cause and retain the result. We need wealth and science and justice in human relationship, but redemption comes only through sacrifice. There is no other process that can sustain civilization; no other law of progress. . . . The beliefs for which men have been willing to suffer martyrdom come from religion. . . . Ideals and beliefs determine the whole course of society.

Mr. Coolidge expresses the conviction that the war period carried us to an extreme point in the governmental regulation of business, and holds that responsible private initiative in industry should be encouraged rather than repressed. He would, indeed, resist every step toward paternalism in government.

Under such institutions there may appear to be a lack of machine-like efficiency, but there will be no lack of character. Private initiative will be stimulated. Self-reliance and self-control will be increased. Society will remain a living organism sustaining hope and progress, content to extend its dominion, not by conquest, but by service.

As part of this outlook for the future, he holds to the importance of the broad tendency for the more democratic organization of industry within itself, and believes that this tendency is steadily advancing.

He makes it very clear, however, that as against the many shortcomings of our civilization — illiteracy, unemployment, poverty, vice, and crime — the processes of government and the course of economic law are far from being sufficient. In an address in support of a community chest, he said:

> Civilization is always on trial, testing out, not the power of material resources, but whether there be, in the heart of the people, that virtue and character which come from charity sufficient to maintain progress. When that charity fails, civilization, though it "speak with the tongues of men and of angels," is "become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal."

A distinctive quality of Mr. Coolidge's service in the highly significant rôle which he developed for the vice-presidency has consisted in his historical and biographical interpretations. Older nations have long realized more fully than we the importance for public education of the constant and varied portrayal of the lives of great leaders and the repeated explanation from generation to generation of the part played by them at vital turning-

points in the national development. There are many signs that the American people are reaching a stage of maturity where they will seek and find this same type of political and moral edification.

As he visited different sections of the country, Mr. Coolidge followed the same plan on the larger scale as he had pursued in the smaller among the towns of Massachusetts. In each locality, he showed a peculiar kind of sympathetic knowledge with regard to the men and events which had made the community. And in most of his general references to the stages of American history, he was able to give perspective to the picture by adducing instances, often in series, from the long story of race development. His sketches of Washington, Hamilton, Lincoln, Grant, McKinley, Roosevelt, are all based, not only on discriminating analysis, but on the responsible approach of one who has kept returning to those careers under need and craving for guidance amid responsibilities not unlike theirs.

Some suggestion of the general relation of things in Mr. Coolidge's mind is to be had from the principal topics in the index to the book, with the number of times each is dealt with in the text: government, 26; progress, 24; religion, 24; education, 23; freedom, 23; Washington, 21; the Constitution, 20; Massachusetts, 19; the American

Revolution, 18; Lincoln, 17; civilization, 16; ideals, 15; morals, 14; industry, 12; sacrifice, 12.

In some of his addresses, and particularly in a series of articles contributed to "The Delineator," Mr. Coolidge expressed the concern which he had felt strongly since the war about the undeniable undercurrent of propaganda dangerous to the peace and order of the country. The "Delineator" articles were based on material furnished him with regard to unpatriotic teachings in several of the women's colleges. They referred to a situation which, in some instances, was seriously open to criticism; but the friends of these institutions felt that the articles should have taken into account the whole of given courses of instruction and the general college attitude and atmosphere. So far as such objections are justified they certainly represent faults that have been very rare in Mr. Coolidge's career. With regard to the issue in general, he is much more truly expressed in the following statement, made while he was Governor after there had been anarchistic threats, followed by bomb-throwing:

> Every government always has enemies. Our government at this moment is no exception. We have more just now than is usual, and if they are in the pay of the revolutionary authorities in Russia, as I believe to be

the case, the danger is somewhat greater than in normal times simply because these enemies to-day are better financed than usual. Even so, I do not regard the menace as genuinely serious. . . . It is right to punish overt acts, but the only way to deal with beliefs is to meet them, to expose their fallacy, to present the facts which prove them wrong. This is the American way.

Mr. Coolidge's speeches have been listened to with uniform thoughtful attention wherever he has gone. He has a peculiar quality of putting himself in the background of his hearers, and ennobling it. People feel this, and respond. In print, his addresses have always had a wide reading. It should be remembered that the volume "Have Faith in Massachusetts" was in type before the police strike; and, while that event secured attention for the addresses, they had their indispensable part in making Mr. Coolidge a national figure.

His utterances have been criticized by the so-called "intellectuals" in much the same way as were those of Roosevelt. This point of view, which is that of the sharpshooter, always has difficulty in comprehending the complex responsible orientation of the line officer. Mr. Coolidge is said to express himself in platitudes. Roosevelt said, "Politics is platitude." The central principles of democratic government like those of morality — and to a large

extent they are identical — remain essentially the same. They must be restated, in their new bearings, to each new generation. It is impossible to overestimate such necessity at the present moment when vastly increased numbers of the people in general, as the result of universal education and the universal spread of reading, are both requiring and ready for instruction as to the meaning of American nationality and government. Consider, in this connection, first, that the women of the country are just taking their first steps in responsible citizenship, and secondly, that we are undertaking to absorb into our electorate the representatives of fifty other nationalities. A recent writer reminds us that "platitudes are not platitudes when we first make our personal experience of them."

It was cynically remarked about Roosevelt that he had rediscovered the moral law. But only as people continuously rediscover it, is it an adequate power in their lives. Mr. Coolidge remarks: "What they said derisively, let us state seriously. He had discovered the Ten Commandments, and he applied their doctrine with great vigor in places that had assumed they had the power to discard the Ten Commandments." In the case of Calvin Coolidge, his continued emphasis upon moral prin-

ciples and his appeal to religious convictions express what is inseparably part and parcel of his being. It is a striking experience of those who know him best to find that, in the few and short sentences that ordinarily make up his part of a conversation, he deals with morality and religion as part of life like anything else. Coventry Patmore, in outlining the character of a saint, said, "He will most likely dwell with reiteration on commonplaces with which you were perfectly well acquainted before you were twelve years old; but you must make allowance for him, remember that the knowledge which is to you a superficies is to him a solid."

Samuel Taylor Coleridge's "Aids to Reflection" was an epoch-making book in relation to English and American thought. Among its opening words are these:

> Seldom can philosophic genius be more usefully employed than in rescuing admitted truths from the neglect caused by their universal admission. . . . Truths, of all others the most awful and interesting, are too often considered so true that they lose all the power of truth, and lie bed-ridden in the dormitory of the soul. . . . There is one sure way of giving freshness and importance to the most commonplace maxims — that of reflecting on them in direct reference to our own state and conduct, our own past and future being. To restore a commonplace truth to its first uncommon lustre, you

need only translate it into action. But to do this you must have reflected on its truth.

The function of the educator of the whole people in a democracy is something altogether different from that of the specialist or the free lance. A Washington correspondent has recently referred to "the slow, painful, incessant reëducation of the American electorate." Dr. Felix Adler, in his recent book, "The Reconstruction of the Spiritual Ideal," while discussing the problem of leadership in industrial reorganization, says:

> The true ideal object is the promoting of action and reaction between the minds of the different functionaries. . . . Even the humblest of them could be intellectually energized by the more gifted. The higher and higher functionaries in turn would gain by the constraint placed upon them of so ripening their thought as to make it apt for assimilation by the mentally less fortunate.[1]

These suggestions give the measure of that teaching application of intelligence and human insight which has enabled Calvin Coolidge to reach "the hearing ear, the understanding heart, and the applying conscience," of those who represent the American Nation.

[1] Page 147.

But it is still urged: "He says little or nothing specific about the immediate issues that confront us." This was true of the Vice-President as it had been of the Lieutenant-Governor. It constantly chafed Mr. Coolidge in both positions, and particularly in the higher, that under the limitations of his office he had to stop short of all proposal for action. Aside from addresses covering the course of work performed by the Administration, he was compelled to restrict himself to things past and to the statement of general principles.

That his utterances have so almost entirely been made under such limitations has rather naturally given the impression to many that these limitations belong to the nature of the man himself. One of his foremost personal characteristics lends additional countenance to this impression. Though he is essentially a man of action, and perhaps because he is so, he has always said *very little about what he was doing*. To the last possible degree, he lets the act tell the story. Those who have been continuously close to him have been able to follow his path of creative achievement, and really discover the man. As the result of a single courageous stand in a crisis, the people accepted his leadership on faith. As they become familiar with the record of his deeds from the beginning of his

career until now, they will be assured that he is always, albeit deliberatingly, of the living present.

Mr. Coolidge made a few speeches containing elaborate detailed accounts of the progress of some of the federal departments. These were on the basis of a definite assignment by President Harding, and represented a special contribution toward a popular interpretation of the Administration and of the processes of the Federal Government in general. As we also learn by teaching, these assignments resulted in a responsible business-like mastery by Mr. Coolidge of the significant facts about the departments covered.

In connection with his various addresses he laid that very concrete foundation for knowledge of the different sections of the country which comes from even such a short visit as will give the background and establish acquaintance with representative local people. In each case, he made a beginning on the spot of accumulating information about men, events, and conditions. The result is seen in the surprise with which deputations from various sections find him well informed about many of the subjects which they bring to his attention.

He also felt it a part of his business to make specific inquiry about the local aspects of problems pressing for solution before the National

Government. The present writer had an experience illustrating the way in which he made such inquiries. Mr. Coolidge, at a chance meeting, it transpired, had intended to send for him because of an earnest desire to have first-hand testimony from the field about the actual working of prohibition. He said: "I am not concerned about the attitude of those who are demanding their personal liberty. Personal liberty is, and must be, restricted in many ways. Nor do I have reference to the violation of the law. The Government in its different branches can in due time take care of that. The only real type of question is, How much better opportunity of life can prohibition bring to the people with whom a settlement worker comes in contact?"

The reply was: "Mr. Vice-President, I could present to you abundant data of my own showing that the net results of prohibition are of great advantage to working-people, but I can do better than that. I will quote the testimony which a Catholic clergyman, holding an important diocesan position, widely and accurately informed, recently gave to a group of social workers of whom I was one. He said: 'Prohibition has brought great benefits to our people. I do not believe in the theory of prohibition. I do not believe that you can make

men good by an act of Congress. But, indeed, the gains which prohibition has brought are so great that I could almost wish I might be proved wrong about the principle.' " This impressed Mr. Coolidge so much that he referred to it more than once to other persons.

Altogether, as Vice-President, he impressed himself upon the country as perhaps no man in the office, except Roosevelt, has ever done. Here is a striking estimate from the "Minneapolis Tribune":

> New England has produced another great man. It is difficult to escape the feeling that somehow there is a mighty destiny ahead of our Vice-President. On reflection, he grows constantly. The rigorous simplicity of his life, the robust Americanism of his philosophy, the courageous quality of his action, the distinction of his writing, the intensity of his power of thought — all appeal strongly to the imagination. He seems the contemporary incarnation of all the best qualities which for generations have kept New England a dominant force in American life. In him one feels something of the rarity that one feels in such American immortals as Emerson and Lincoln.

But what was the situation at Washington? It was inevitable that Mr. Harding should be renominated, but without good prospect of reëlection. Mr. Harding undertook his Western trip with the

hope that he might turn the adverse tide. When it appeared that a known serious ailment had strongly asserted itself, it began to be anticipated by certain dominant political powers that another President would fill out his term in invalidism, and this would furnish adequate reason for reaching an agreement with Mr. Harding and his friends that he should withdraw from the coming contest. Then there was to be brought forward some one with a definite leaning toward the left wing of the party. But neither before nor after this turn of affairs was it contemplated for a moment that Mr. Coolidge would be renominated as Vice-President. He had come forward contrary to calculations, and was not to be allowed to do so again. It was suggested that he should become a candidate for the Senate from Massachusetts. So man proposed.

When Congress adjourned, Mr. Coolidge, with no prospect of continuing the upward momentum of his career, nor even of holding the rung of the ladder on which he stood, returned to visit his three old homes in New England — Northampton, Amherst, and his birthplace in the mountains.

In Northampton he soon found himself back in something like his old setting. He went to renew acquaintance under the auspices of the barber, the cobbler, the blacksmith. He attended a meeting

of the board of the People's Institute. He gave an address at the fiftieth anniversary of the savings bank of which he had been vice-president. His advice was sought as to the building of a new city hall; and he counselled delay. A call was made at the office of the daily newspaper, "to give a report at headquarters on the state of the Nation," and to arrange for his address on Decoration Day. The present Mayor, once his defeated opponent, he greeted at City Hall. The last retiring Mayor was found in the barber shop. His former preceptors, Judges Hammond and Field, welcomed him to the old office of his studies; and when he approached his own former office he found that his sign as attorney was still out.

He had to answer many questions about a way of life so different from that in his modest Northampton home. Being asked how his digestion was after so many big dinners, his reply was, "Perfect." His explanation was characteristically circumstantial. Dining out in Washington was really by no means so serious as it had been in Boston. There sometimes as Governor he had to attend three dinners in one evening, making a speech at each. The Washington dinners were rarely speech-making affairs. You don't have to eat everything; and in Washington it is understood that the highest official

leaves first and leaves when he pleases. Mr. Coolidge said that, as a matter of fact, he and Mrs. Coolidge usually got back to their hotel by ten o'clock.

A regrettable feature about Washington to him was the fact that he could have no home life. In Boston, most of the members of the State Government can go home at night. In Washington, they are all thrown together out of hours. While in Boston he could come to Northampton at the week-end, and keep in touch with his sons.

Altogether it appeared that two years in Washington had made Mr. Coolidge more communicative. His smile had developed into a chuckle, and sometimes there was a hearty laugh. Perhaps the Southern atmosphere had exerted an influence. He seemed to have got rid of an asthmatic trouble and of a little hacking cough.

Mrs. Coolidge received the heartiest, and returned the most unaffected, greeting as she met her neighbors with whom she had always lived on village-like terms. At a reception which they gave for her, it was unanimously agreed: (1) that Mrs. Coolidge was a "wonderful" housekeeper; (2) that she could be equally at home on a thirty-two dollars a month piazza and in Washington society. A Democratic politician, perhaps on hearing

of this occasion, observed that, " if Cal only had his wife's smile, he would have been President long ago."

John and Calvin, Jr., who hardly seemed to realize, or at any rate were not disturbed by, their parents' high estate, felt life very rich and full to have mother and father all to themselves again. It seems like old times to have to encounter father's playful banter across the table. It was a regret both ways that they were getting almost too big to have mother read from story-books to them before they went asleep. They had, perhaps, left that behind when, before going to Washington as Vice-President, their father had taken them with him to skate and fish through the ice. They had continued in the Northampton public schools, and had been cared for by a trusted housekeeper. They were soon to leave, one for the military training camp and the other for some weeks of duty as assistant to a farmer. There is a Smith College professor who felt that he did not know or understand Mr. Coolidge, but did really know his sons. " I have never met finer boys," he said, " and I have boys of my own." After the election, a reporter, not according to the best ethics of his craft, had asked Mrs. Coolidge, " Do you consider your husband fitted for the office of Vice-President?"

And she made reply: " Judging by the way he governs his family, I should say he was."

Mr. Coolidge had a number of speaking appointments, with some consultations in Boston on public matters. He went to Amherst to attend a meeting of the trustees and the commencement exercises. The chief figure at the one hundredth anniversary of the college two years before, he was this time practically in the attitude of a private citizen and of an alumnus in the ranks.

After this came his annual visit at the old farm. When he arrived, he grasped his father by the hand, and kissed him. Consider this seasoned, inbred exemplar of the town-meeting. Catch the sense of his simplicity, magnanimity, from the impressions some weeks later of a critic not too prone to admiration:

> The elder Coolidge stands in his low-ceilinged parlor and greets the pilgrims to the scenes of his son's boyhood. . . . His manner is oddly like that of President Masaryk of Czecho-Slovakia. There is the same deliberateness, the same imperturbability, the same engaging gentleness, the same disengaged, essentially unapproachable, inward aloofness. One is at ease with him. One cannot be familiar with him. He has in truth the same democracy that the Pyrrhic ambassadors saw in Rome where there were no kings and everybody was regal.

The Vice-President took up various kinds of work and went on long walks through the mountains, such as had occupied him each summer on his vacations when he was rising in the scale of public duty. Soon there came private information from his secretary, Edward T. Clark, that the illness of President Harding, in spite of published accounts, was serious. Several days before the end, Mr. Coolidge knew that it would in all probability come quickly. And then that night scene in the lamplight when the old farmer, a sovereign citizen duly empowered, with the family Bible in his hand, as it were, anointed his son to the greatest office on earth — an act of civic ritual the most characteristically American in our history as a nation.

To the required formal words of the oath, Calvin Coolidge added, " So help me God." The voice of the people seemed like a response in the words of an ancient chant:

> The stone which the builders rejected
> Is become the head of the corner.
> This is the Lord's doing;
> It is marvellous in our eyes.

Of recent months, President Coolidge was asked when he first decided on a public career. His

reply was that he had never so decided; his intention always was to be a lawyer. "Of course," he said, "when I became Lieutenant-Governor, I wanted to be Governor." "But," continued the inquirer, "the steps in your progress as an incumbent of public office have followed so inevitably as to suggest that there must have been a purpose in it." The President answered, without a change of tone or emphasis, "There was a purpose in it; but it was not mine."

CHAPTER X

FIRST CITIZEN

THE death of President Harding came at a time when all the more elementary emotions associated with the war had subsided, and the resultant consciousness of national unity was ready to express itself with a depth and breadth of sentiment which was, in its way, as reassuring as was the national effort in the war itself. Much of the quality of sympathy in this national response turned toward the man upon whom so suddenly the supreme responsibility had fallen. From the nature of the man, he has continued, in a way unlike any incumbent of the great office since Lincoln, to hold the people's sympathetic consideration. This fact has been noted by numerous careful observers. The significance of this particular attitude on the part of a democratic electorate toward its chief magistrate has perhaps never been carefully estimated; but there can be no doubt of the exceptional values which it represents to the well-being of the Nation. That Mr. Coolidge is such as so quickly to win, and so surely to retain, this well-nigh unique pitch of national regard as President by succession, indi-

cates more clearly than anything else why he should be continued as President by formal choice.

Let it be said at once that in such a situation there is an element of mystery which cannot be resolved. Mr. Washburn says, " He puzzles and appeals by the charm of mystery." And Nathaniel Hawthorne expressed a profound principle when he wrote of " the marvellous and mystic influence of character, in respect to which the judgment of the people is so seldom found erroneous, and which conveys the perception of itself through some medium higher than the intellect."

We reach here one of those factors in life that is to Jews a stumbling-block and to Greeks foolishness. The " Nation " finds the almost unanimous response of the Republican Party to Mr. Coolidge something nearly incomprehensible. Writers in the " New Republic " hold that the morality which he so constantly inculcates, as constantly practises, and which assures the people's confidence, is irrelevant if not unimportant.

A visitor at the White House who has made an analysis of the steadily increasing number of Coolidge anecdotes says that they come under three heads: Silence, Kindness, Humor. Here follows an example under each:

It is one of the tests of friendship that two can be

together and understand without the necessity of speech. Mr. Coolidge, since becoming President, sent for a friend; asked him to sit down, said nothing to him, urged him to remain when he started to go, and finally thanked him for coming, saying, " I wanted to think." Was this being distant; or being utterly confidential? The President wanted to avoid interruptions; but still this friend represented some special association, or some fine standard in the affairs of life.

A friend of the President received an invitation conveyed over the telephone to join him with a party for an afternoon's sail on the Mayflower. The party was appointed to meet at the White House at a quarter to two. This man got it into his head that the time was a quarter-past two. The President held the party for fifteen minutes at the White House, and then held the yacht for almost as long on the chance that the tardy guest should appear. When he finally did present himself, almost petrified with chagrin, no private citizen as host could have moved more easily and decisively to put him at his ease.

In the friendly group of leading men in the Massachusetts Legislature was one who was conspicuous among its variously assorted membership for being faultlessly dressed on all occasions. A

certain other member of the group, coming to present his respects to President Coolidge soon after his assumption of the office, was at special pains to be costumed for the occasion. He had his top hat, his platform frock coat, a white edging to the collar of his vest, his cane, and in general bore the appearance of a distinguished member of the diplomatic corps. When he was ushered into the President's office, Mr. Coolidge held his hand until he had looked him all over, up and down, and using first names, here altered, said: "Hello, Loreburn, have you seen Kempton lately?"

His silence is in the blood. The housekeeper at the Coolidge farm at Plymouth Notch says that Calvin Coolidge is a chatterer compared with his father. Mr. Coolidge is undoubtedly somewhat sensitive to public discussion of this characteristic of his. He once said, "I find the things I haven't uttered in my life haven't hurt me." And there can be no doubt that he has, in the course of his continuous complication of public responsibilities, saved himself many mistakes in this way. It has meant, too, a rare economy of time and strength. To wait until one can express one's self at one's best — to be affected by that shyness which is the sense of a higher self not yet achieved — is one way of continuously pursuing a continuously ad-

vancing goal, maintaining the while that individuality of outlook and purpose which has always been a central value in New England tradition and education.

It is a mistake to think that the silent temperaments are austere or ungenerous. Von Moltke and Grant habitually emerged from the quiet in a mood that was not only judicious but generous. To be kind is one of the motives of such silence — "Swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath." Mr. Coolidge will at times seem strangely impassive. Those who shake hands with him in line with hundreds sometimes find him so. The newspaper men who crowd around his desk, friendly enough on the whole, but often looking as if they were ready to devour, occasionally write long character sketches based upon passing defensive expressions or attitudes that he may take. But closer acquaintance always shows the whole undercurrent of his feeling to be quite simply courteous and considerate.

He is no respecter of persons. There could hardly be an officer of state who would hold so even a balance as between friend and stranger. It is the test of friendship to understand this. He does not include in his circle of friends those who have to be politically considered. He does not make half promises; nor does he make half threats. He does

not apologize; he follows the Emersonian rule of not doing it again. Neither does he seek praise. He has a disinterested way of letting the accomplished deed tell the story. He is prepared to face misunderstanding in the interval; and, on account of lack of the amenities that might accompany the process, it is sometimes felt that he is distant and unresponsive.

In the fifteen-minute interviews that make up his mornings, he is at pains to get the facts. He is as careful as a judge about committing himself, in matters smaller or larger, without a sufficient set of data on which to base a decision. After the facts are adduced, and the plea made, he never quite agrees. He is likely, however, not to differ with you much. He makes a penetrating exception from an unexpected angle, which may put an entirely different light on the case as a whole. Some one has said about him, "I never saw a man who could more unerringly detect the fly in the ointment, and more unhesitatingly call attention to it." Thus you are made to think, and the chances are that you and he will reach a conclusion together — though he will probably show you that more steps will be needed than you had thought to get the result.

He does not leap to conclusions; and when in his

presence you realize something of the overwhelming convergence of responsibility that is his, you are relieved that a President should not. But there are few interviews that do not show how far is the reach and how close the grasp of his mind. Mr. Hoover, after a trip with him on the Mayflower, was asked if the President talked much. The reply was to the effect that he was not more conversational on the boat than elsewhere, but, " oh, how his mind works when he does talk!"

It will be an exceptional interview if you do not find at some point or other underneath this quiet exterior a substratum of dynamic determination. There is a velvet glove, but the hand can be as firm as if it were mailed. The final authority of the office is held by one who can be, and very often is, as quietly immovable as his granite hills. Then, when the moment for action comes, things are brought to an unmistakable decision; but without any suggestion of the " arbitrary temper of command."

An effort has been made to show him a cynic, on account of certain twists of the lip, or vocal inflections, or an occasional witticism with an acid flavor. As a matter of fact, an almost idealistic belief in human nature is one of the most determining factors in his life. He says, " I am of a

very hopeful disposition, because I believe profoundly in my fellow-men." The whole drift of his practical policy and every word of his public teaching is based on a simple faith in the reasonableness of the world and of the human mind. This way of looking at life is a special, and a rather rare, gift. It implies an exceptionally high degree of personal sincerity; for one could not thus believe broadly in the genuineness of others if he did not have a kind of genius for sincerity in himself.

It is probable that one reason for the remarkable response of the people throughout the country is in the very fact that he presents a marked contrast to such very expressive, self-assertive men as Presidents Roosevelt and Wilson, while maintaining an individuality not less sharply defined than either of theirs. Power without egotism; a prospecting and purposeful, though not aggressive, mind; cool expression, ardent impulse; a profound thinker, but always about things leading to service and action; having a method like that of the surgeon with his completeness of diagnosis and then the healing knife, handled gently, deftly, with unfailing firmness, penetration, and decision; ready to coöperate with broad tolerance up to the line where fundamental principle is endangered as these

traits were understood. Not even Roosevelt, who had for long been an admired national figure, was more increasingly accepted in such a situation. Before the end of a year, the "New York Times" said: "The growth of Mr. Coolidge from a colorless Vice-President into the fame which is already attached to his name in the presidency, is one of the human and political marvels of our time."

Friends visiting him in the early days of his administration, after he had fairly struck his pace, find him with his work organized and well in hand, carrying his duties without undue strain; beginning to think that, allowing for their far greater range and significance, they do not make demands essentially different from those of the governorship of Massachusetts. He had evidently once more, as many times in the past, drawn upon new reserves of power. He is found to have a kind of facility, an aspect of grace and cheer, such as he has hardly shown before. One can understand the remark of Colonel George Harvey, made a little later, "I expected to find him worn out with all the difficulties that have confronted him; instead he's fresh as a daisy."

Since he was a youth of twenty-five, Mr. Coolidge has been almost continuously in public office. As a lawyer, he could have advanced to a lucrative

practice, or perhaps have been appointed to the judiciary. Until he became Governor, his income never amounted to more than a few thousand dollars a year. In the public service, he has always proved his case with celerity, but steadily from stage to stage, and has behind him a succession of achievements in their nature unparalleled, which give him accumulated equipment and confidence for confronting the immeasurable responsibilities of the presidency.

His is a career that marks a new epoch in the evolution of American politics. For the future it will be the more understood and possible that young men of character and ability shall enter deliberately upon a life career of public service under the highest standards, even though it involve the most simple with the most strenuous living. Theodore Roosevelt forty years ago set an example for men of means in this direction. Calvin Coolidge universalizes the appeal, including not only men in general without private means, but among them those who are averse to the kind of self-promotion which has seemed to be identified with a political career in the past. He has even created a front which has meant the making of few enemies and the calling out of few embittered criticisms. When these have come, he has usually overcome

them by ignoring them and simply continuing to do the day's work.

Moreover, while he has worked with all sorts and conditions of men, and has been loyal to party, he has involved himself as little as possible in responsibilities to the less worthy element in his party, and has been able to earn the support continuously of many in the opposing party. From the beginning of his political career up until his nomination for the presidency, he has never been in any full sense an organization man within the party. At no time has he limited his appeal to certain racial elements, but has always reached out to as many nationalities as were within his constituencies; and in the exercise of the appointing power, particularly when he was Governor of Massachusetts, his list of appointees was exceptionally representative of the different racial groups in the State. In other words, in being the politician in the best sense, he has been, above and beyond all, the American.

John Morley, moralist and statesman, said that politics was an eternal selection of the least bad. Calvin Coolidge's progress has been based on a conception at once more optimistic and more practical. He has believed in taking the men and the system at their best interpretation, and his success

must give a far stronger standing to that point of view and the line of attack that goes with it. He has maintained his standards and at the same time pursued " the expediency, the sagacity, the instinct of what is fit and practicable which make the advantage of the man of practical affairs over the mere theorist." He has exercised an instinctive sense for finding the desires and hopes of the people and shaping the application of his own public aims so as to make combination with the common will. He thus developed a kind of political skill that commanded admiration from both " practical " politicians and political reformers. From one point of view, he was called " the most noiseless political expert that ever achieved a high office like the governorship." From the other, this was said: " He is a politician and a consummately good one. But he takes politics as seriously and in much the same mood as some men have taken crusading. In the work and problems of government in Massachusetts, he is as much absorbed as some men are in money-making."

And, referring again to Morley, it used to be said in the last days of Gladstone, " If John Morley had a will, he might be prime minister of England." Calvin Coolidge has had that orientation to life which, along with high ethical standards, has

prevented him from ever being the mere spectator, has given him the power not only of a faithful and loyal participant, but continuously of a standard-bearer.

Mr. Coolidge has always shown a special susceptibility to the influences of education; and his appreciation of the service rendered by the teacher has found constant expression in word and deed. Indeed, his way of ordering his life — being content with a modest livelihood and making a career of thoughtful service — resembles nothing more than that of a college professor. It must be emphasized, however, that he is not of the academical type. He is of the public men whose power has been rather that of native intellect than of exceptional cultivation in terms of the schools. He belongs, from this particular point of view, rather with Jackson than with Webster, rather with Lincoln than with Seward. He has native refinement rather than polish. The savor of " Poor Richard " is discovered in him. Here were some of the marks of Franklin in Paris: " The simplicity of his manners, the plainness of his dress, the honest eloquence of his speech, the eminent sensibleness of his views, the clarity of his mind." It has been said of Lincoln that his literary style was his most characteristic source of influence and power — that it was

simply the man himself. Mr. Coolidge's addresses have had this quality of expressing the character of the man, and in remarkable degree have been received as such. In Bacon's phrase his thought is set out in "dry light." He has said, himself, "Style is only the man thinking. If a man thinks clearly, he can tell what he thinks."

But he always passes from utterance to action the moment the opportunity offers. He has the advantage as President of having already introduced himself to the Nation through his addresses. His immediate absorption in practical duties, the combination of calmness and avidity with which he laid hold upon his great task, largely to the exclusion of public utterance, showed the Nation, what was known in Massachusetts, that he was by nature a man of action.

It is bred in the bone with Calvin Coolidge to scorn delights and live laborious days. He hates luxury, and is thus the enemy of the very foremost provoking cause of whatever is injurious and dangerous in social unrest. One of the leading notes of his inaugural as Governor was "a halt to extravagance and a call to simple, unpretentious living." He has always been careful about his dress; but in the fall of 1920, while Governor, he explained that during the shortage of supplies he

had for two years been limiting his personal purchases to the last degree. He owns a small property in Northampton, but he has never owned his home. He has never possessed an automobile. He has travelled in this country; but, like Grover Cleveland, he has never been abroad.

It has been his custom to smoke two or three stogies at times of relaxation each day; perhaps he seeks a finer aroma since he became President. He is not musical, and is generally bored by the theatre. He has the countryman's zest for the circus. He does not play cards. Certain painted portraits would make it appear that he has begun to carry the air of metropolitan society; but not so. The tang and the twang of Vermont are still there. In spite of all the stories and legends about his silence, he enjoys conversing with his friends. He expresses his meaning, even in extreme political exigencies, without profanity. In his early years, he rode horseback. He played golf in Northampton for a time before he was married, and thought he might take it up again in Washington. At first when he became President, he inclined toward the saddle, but soon fell back on his long walks, usually in the very early morning, sometimes out of the gates of the White House through the business streets, and sometimes back through

the parks along the river. These walks are really active, as those find who accompany him from time to time, in addition to the secret service men. It is important to say — as so often his predecessors in office have been handicapped by serious ailments — that, with only a slight bronchial difficulty, he is in excellent physical condition.

The President's principal relaxation is found on the Sunday afternoon trips — after attending church service in the morning — down the Potomac on the Mayflower. This is a fully equipped sea-going yacht. Ordinarily, she sails at two o'clock and docks at eight. The soft rolling landscape on both sides of the river has a peculiarly restful effect. The President usually spends a large part of the time by himself, on deck or in his spacious apartment. Nearly always certain of the guests will be summoned for interviews. There is much informal conversation among the company, including the officers. An excellent band furnishes music. As the yacht passes Mount Vernon, both going down and coming back, all hands are on deck at salute, while the national anthem is played. There is tea at four, and dinner at seven. In summer, cruises are taken from Saturday to Monday, and sometimes longer.

It will be understood that Mrs. Coolidge's life at

the White House is in its way a strenuous one. With the assistance of two secretaries her mornings are kept fully occupied by correspondence, and by a succession of calls and interviews, all of which must be previously arranged for. In the afternoon, there are frequent small receptions and equally frequent large gatherings of people to be greeted by the President and herself. She keeps up a helpful interest in many enterprises for the good of the community in the capital city.

There are groups of house guests almost continuously, the responsibility for whom must rest largely on Mrs. Coolidge. Following her own as well as her husband's tastes, such hospitality, while kept in strict conformity with all the traditions of respect to the presidential office, is made as simple and homelike as possible. A recent guest for some days, an old friend of Mr. and Mrs. Coolidge, reported: "The White House was carried on with prevision and precision. Everything seemed to be going perfectly smooth. One reason for that was because it was under the solicitous guidance of one of the ablest and most courteous and gracious women of the land." Mr. and Mrs. Stearns, who in their personal relations have been almost like father and mother to Mr. and Mrs. Coolidge, spend considerable periods with them. Mr. Stearns has

become known as the chaplain of the White House, because the President calls on him to say grace at the table whenever he is present.

Amid all this overpowering drama came death into the household by strange approach and with startling unexpectedness. The two boys had been at Mercersburg Academy, a school under very fine auspices, just over the Pennsylvania line, where their mother could often visit them. Both had exceptionally creditable records, in the classroom and in the activities organized by the students. John graduated this year, and is entered as a member of the class of 1928 at Amherst; Calvin, junior, had one year more at the Academy. The boys were having their first real visit with their parents at the White House when Calvin was attacked by the fatal blood poison. He showed the fortitude of his race; and his mother bore herself as those who have faith, with her head up.

Any attempt to understand President Coolidge will go far amiss which does not take the fullest account of the great power of religious faith which has been continuous and increasing in his life. Beginning with his early nurture, greatly strengthened and broadened at Amherst, rising steadily as the responsibilities of life so steadily and so broadly increased — his faith in God with its cor-

relative of faith in men, his sense of sustaining and uplifting spiritual realities, is, in modern terms, not less real to him and not less definite in its command and its reënforcement to righteousness than it was to the Puritans of old. He told an interviewer: "I have found that when a man does right, he is increasingly supported. I believe in God." There were some at least in the great audience that listened to his address at the dinner of the National Republican Club in New York City who understood him when, at its close, he paused and almost startled his audience with the words of the psalm: "He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep."

It too often seems in our public affairs that "belief and loyalty have passed away, and only the cant and false echo of them remain; and all solemnity has become pageantry." Whatever else may be set down as the final estimate of Calvin Coolidge, he will be among those leaders of the people whose reliance upon divine guidance is a part of the very fabric of their being. With a mind so clear, so free of pretence, this means not only a constant and vital constraint to righteous judgment, but as constant an aspiration toward a more righteous and more human order of the common life. Detached critics may sneer, but it has

a profound meaning in a democracy when Mr. Bryan, for those whom he represents, can say, "I think the Republican President is as high-minded a man as ever sat in the presidential chair." Spurgeon wrote to Gladstone in 1882: "You do not know how those of us regard you who feel it a joy to live when a premier believes in righteousness. We believe in no man's infallibility, but it is restful to be sure of one man's integrity." The American people are so assured of Calvin Coolidge; and with Secretary Hughes they are confident that a man holding such character is in himself by far the most important issue of all. It is of the nature of a master key to public, no less than personal, problems.

In this connection, the question is very naturally raised why Mr. Coolidge was not a communicant before he became President, and whether there was not a suggestion of unreality in his joining the church when he did. Probably no one can fully understand another in these deep things of the spirit. We have seen that Calvin Coolidge was troubled with excessive shyness as a youth, which at that period often reaches its extreme with regard to the expression of religious feeling. The community at Plymouth Notch was so small that religious services were not held every Sunday, and there

was not a regular church organization. Moreover, in northern New England, as doubtless in other parts of the country, the tradition was still strongly held that membership in the church was only for those who had experienced some revolutionary inward change. The present writer, as a theological student years ago, was familiar with not a few such churches, and in each case some of the best men and most regular attendants were for this reason not members of the church. Calvin Coolidge's father and grandfather were not communicants, though devout men and pillars of the church. There was indeed an old Puritan tradition, established by struggle, relating to such cases, that regular attendants at and supporters of a church, though not communicants, had voting rights in its affairs.

At Amherst, the students attended the college church, where they listened to distinguished preachers and to missionary leaders from various parts of the world, but there was practically nothing of organized church life. In Northampton, delay, perhaps a stage of partial indifference, perhaps caution lest there might seem to be a mixture of religion and politics, led up to the period when he was away from home most of the time on public duty.

But it was this very public duty that kept opening to him more and more clearly the substantial meaning and power of religious faith. "Our nation was founded by men who came over for the sake of religion." "Religion is the essential. The community without the church goes to pieces. I have seen it again and again in New England." "Our nation cannot live without morality, and morality cannot live without religion."

He had always made a practice of attending church with his family; and in 1920, before he and Mrs. Coolidge were to leave their sons behind at home, they had the satisfaction of seeing the boys become members of the church.

When he went to Washington as Vice-President, he became a regular attendant at the First Congregational Church. After President Harding's death, when he came back as President, as a natural expression of a great double emotion, on August 5th, he accepted the broad invitation of the Reverend Jason Noble Pierce to all Christians, and partook of the communion. This tended to confirm an increasing feeling on the part of Dr. Pierce that the President was earnestly considering the step of uniting with the church; but after consulting with a member of the family circle, he concluded that the President would not be open to any suggestion

in that direction at a time when, with the election impending, his motive would be misunderstood.

In October came the meeting of the National Congregational Council at Springfield, Massachusetts. Without previously consulting anybody, one of the delegates moved that President Coolidge be elected honorary moderator, and this motion was passed unanimously. Dr. Pierce took the occasion to inform Mr. Coolidge that his having accepted the invitation, as a regular attendant at the First Congregational Church, to participate in its communion service was regarded by its officers as both expressing a readiness for, and complying with the essential conditions of membership in this church; that its officers desired to enroll him as a member, and would proceed to do so, as recognizing a fact, if he interposed no objection. Mr. Coolidge simply aligned himself with this suggestion.

Whatever may have been the reasons, positive or negative, which had affected Mr. Coolidge in the past, it is clear that by the time he became President he had determined to become a church member; that he had decided to postpone the step until there would be little or no occasion for misinterpretation of his act or motive; and that he finally took it because of a special turn of events over which, in any case, he had no control.

Bishop Lawrence, of Massachusetts, says that President Coolidge is the best asset of the American Nation to-day because the people are satisfied that he is straight. In another connection the Bishop, who has had exceptional experience of feeling the national pulse, has expressed the conviction that the American people are intent upon spiritual values, but insist that they must be translated into terms of fact. It is because it is natural to Calvin Coolidge to make this interrelation that he is straight, and that the American people trust him. It is not an exaggeration to refer to the whole people, because there is ample evidence that the South has a peculiar feeling of respect for Mr. Coolidge, though it cannot vote for him.

The national attitude to-day accords with the testimony of the "Springfield Republican," which continues to be the most independent daily paper in the country, and spoke from knowledge close at hand at the time of his nomination for the vice-presidency:

Governor Coolidge does not scold. He does not flatter. He does not use an extravagant word. He never shows discouragement. He never loses faith. Listeners feel the strength of his grasp of unseen realities, of his trust in the supreme power of the right, of his assurance of the ultimate victory. They recognize that here is a man to be trusted; that he is worthy of responsibility;

that he has the strength to bear public burdens; that he will not neglect his public duties; that he will focus all his powers for the effective discharge of his public trust.

He has fulfilled exceptional hopes in the past; he will continue to justify them for the future. It will be said of him as of Sir Harry Vane — leader of the Puritans on both sides of the water, Governor of Massachusetts in 1636 — "He made men think there was somewhat in him of extraordinary; and his whole life made good that imagination."

CHAPTER XI

PRESIDENT

CALVIN COOLIDGE'S year as President must properly be considered as the final stage of his unparalleled preparation, rather than as marking full attainment of the functions of the great office. When one assumes the presidency in so exceptional a way — suddenly, after all the policies and personnel of the Administration had become established, and for a short period — the best that he can do is to indicate what he might accomplish under normal conditions. Moreover, there were in this case some especially embarrassing handicaps. It soon appeared that the congressional situation was such, through no fault of the President by succession, as to make his path exceedingly difficult in that direction. Add to this a condition of serious laxness in some of the executive departments, of which he could have been, at most, only slightly and remotely cognizant. He came into office under conditions that left him under no obligations to the leaders of his own party in Congress. This was a source of power to him so far as strictly executive action was concerned, but it left them in

an unresponsive mood, so far as necessary congressional coöperation was concerned.

No public officer could have been put through a more severe probation. The voters are considering Mr. Coolidge's year in the presidency, not as something in itself, but as an exhibit to indicate whether he should be President by choice — to have his complete franchise, his full quota of time, his own Cabinet, a Congress reasonably adaptable to his initiative, the resources in his own hands through which he can fully exercise his initiating and directing power.

Mr. Coolidge showed at once that he was the expert in public administration. The immediate machinery of his office was quickly put in condition like that of a high-grade business establishment, so that all routine matters could be cleared up by the end of the day. The relation of the executive to the departments, which during the vice-presidency he had found full opportunity to learn, was clearly established in practice; and the precise place of the executive and his office staff clearly defined, so that there should be a minimum of confusion, haste, or strain. The working day was divided so as to provide for correspondence, general interviews, official interviews, receptions to delegations, and, above all, quiet study of prob-

lems. Quiet thought on the larger principles continues to be perhaps his most striking characteristic, even amidst the infinite claims that urge themselves upon him. When he is in his office alone, and one of his secretaries enters, he is very often not occupied at his desk, but pacing the room or perhaps standing at the window which looks out over the spaces of the rear grounds of the White House toward the Potomac. With a definite delimitation in his mind of the part he is to play in relation to all the other officers of government, and an increasingly clear lay-out of the broad principles which shall guide his executive action, he relies with profound instinctive confidence on his power to think out his problems. Nothing seems to him more practical than the power of thought. He finds in the Presidency a chance to think freely, without constraint on the part of others. He is convinced that there is reason in all things, and that he has the greatest of all stakes in the discovery. But the subject-matter of his thought is the facts and forces of to-day; and it is heading always to preparedness for the action that shall make to-morrow.

Mr. Coolidge is able to say that he does not find the round of duties of the presidency overburdening. But no kind of intelligent system can much

reduce the weight and complexity of responsibility that bears in upon the mind of the President of the United States. It requires a very special quality of character to carry the burden, and especially to carry it with equanimity and with easy accessibility and responsiveness to all concerned.

In several respects, he manifested at once the essential openness and generosity of his mind. He made provision as ample as possible for greeting citizens in general as they were in Washington. He was quite exceptionally ready to grant interviews. He particularly sought assistance from persons who could provide significant information from different sections of the country. He utilized much of the time before Congress assembled in cross-examining members of the two houses with regard to matters that were to come up and popular sentiment about them. They learned that he already had, in every case, a good supply of data in hand. They experienced what was a commonplace among Massachusetts legislators that he had his pungent way of disintegrating every subject and laying bare its essence. Among the callers in these first months were not a few of the leading business men from different sections of the country who had served in Washington during the war. The appreciation felt by these men of Mr. Coolidge's published

addresses and, on the other hand, the results of his close association with the same type of men on the Massachusetts Committee of Public Safety, have served to cement the remarkable understanding which he has reached with the best and most responsible of our commercial and industrial leadership. Each interviewer, coming with regard to a question that was in any sense before the Government, is almost certain to learn that the President has already been studying it, and with a penetration surprising to those immediately concerned. People from the South, or from the Pacific Coast, find him having a solid basis of fact for the discussion of their problems.

He proved to be something of a revelation to the newspaper correspondents. As Vice-President, Mr. Coolidge's extreme care not to embarrass the Administration made him an almost impossible source of "copy." This attitude was more or less confused in the minds of the correspondents with his tendency to reserve in general, and they anticipated that he might be a particularly difficult subject from their point of view. There was even some thought that he might seek to protect himself behind a screen of presidential dignity. A few of them knew, of course, that his relations with newspaper men in Boston had been exceptionally satis-

factory to them; and they all soon found out that, so far as the President's office was concerned, they would have full and fair consideration.

The representatives of the press are received twice a week. Written questions are submitted by them in advance. The President answers them as he is able to do and as far as he sees fit. After the written questions are answered, impromptu supplementary questions are allowed. At times, of course, the kind of rumor with which Washington is rife is made to do duty in certain papers in place of authorized information. For instance, it appears in the press that the appointment of Congressman Burton to make the keynote speech at the Republican Convention was brought about without the President's approval. At one of the general press interviews, it came out that the President was loath to spoil a somewhat arresting newspaper story, but as a matter of fact he himself had originated the plan for securing Congressman Burton for this duty.

It is said that any President that can bring conviction to the correspondents as a body is almost a miracle-worker, and President Coolidge has accomplished this in good degree. They find him ready to meet, so far as possible, their desire for real information, and exceptionally free from what

savors of political indirection, which they are so keen to detect. On the other hand, as a body, they enter appreciatively into his point of view. They all follow strictly the regulation that the President shall not be personally quoted. No White House news is expressed as coming directly from him.

It sometimes seems as if certain correspondents got a fixed idea about him when he was Vice-President, on the basis of inferences and gossip, which has not been adjusted to the reality. Those who have first been acquainted with Mr. Coolidge superficially, and later come really to know him, can testify as to the gulf that there is between the two points of view.

No previous administration has kept the press throughout the country better informed as to the detailed appointments which the President was meeting, the persons with whom he was having interviews, and his special guests at the White House. Editors in the West have wondered how he could take the time to reply so unfailingly and fully to communications from them.

One of the most important inquiries about a President is, Does he take advice, and how? As part of the objective analysis of everything that comes before him, Mr. Coolidge has an established habit, not only of receiving, but of seeking advice.

When Governor of Massachusetts, on all questions of any importance, he kept himself fortified with carefully selected advisers. On one occasion, he would consult the mayors of the thirty-four cities in the State; on another, he would ask the views of all the editors of country weekly papers. He follows a similar policy as President. Aside from members of the Cabinet, he has, of course, many officers of the Government who are called in to give information or suggestion about special matters. On the other hand, the ordinary citizen who has the specific contribution of experience to make, but can only send a letter to the President, is as likely as any one to receive consideration. The President's secretaries report that he will sometimes spend an hour in studying the conclusions to be drawn from a communication of this kind. That the people of the country seem to take it for granted Mr. Coolidge will have such an attitude is shown by the fact that his correspondence is very much larger than any President's has been before. One of his keenly felt sources of satisfaction in the presidential office is in the fact that he finds citizens of the whole country so ready and eager to help him.

It can be said, however, without any chance of question, that President Coolidge's administration

of the executive branch of the government will be characterized from first to last by unity of command. Final decisions, and all the immediate approaches to them, will be completely in his own control. His two most trusted personal counsellors, Mr. Stearns and Mr. William M. Butler, chairman of the Republican National Committee, are the kind of friends who are such only to be helpful. It has been, and is, their purpose to the utmost to forward him in his service to the country; and their chief function is that of getting and keeping Mr. Coolidge rightly presented to the electorate. They are constantly concerned not in the slightest way to bring embarrassment to him; they know also that they are almost as likely as any one else to receive from him the kind of intimation that is really a conclusive negation.

Among Mr. Coolidge's first striking official acts was the communication to the radical Republican leaders of the Northwest of his purpose to coöperate with them in the distribution of federal appointments in their States, and to give them the same consideration as leaders of the party in the other States. This indicated a broad attitude toward the use of a great presidential power; and there has been no suggestion of departure from it.

The President kept his own counsel strictly as to

his policies until Congress assembled at the beginning of December. This four months' interval — especially as entertainments of all sorts were omitted out of respect to the memory of President Harding — made up to him somewhat for the suddenness with which the responsibilities of the office had been precipitated upon him.

His message to Congress was received by the country as indicating a chief executive who had a strong, clearly marked programme which he could cogently state and reënforce. It showed that he was prepared to deal in the most downright way with the foundation and framework issues of public policy that go with finance, regardless of the demands of great organized elements of voters. It made clear his determination to guide his action as President by the clearest and fairest judgment that he could reach as to what was best for the whole people in the long run, and what the best judgment of the whole people would approve.

The response of Congress was in the shape of a twofold embarrassment, constituting perhaps the most serious succession of shocks ever sought to be inflicted upon any administration in the history of the country. President Coolidge, throughout his harassing experience, maintained the calmest of equanimity — except in a rebuke to the Senate for

an invasion of the domain of the President — holding a straight course with only such compromise as pressing aspects of the welfare of the country immediately and obviously demanded, standing above the reach of any major criticism and having adequate defence against minor ones. All the confusion of the situation, and the serious individual derelictions of high officers of the Government, created a contrasting background against which he stood out before the American people, trustworthy and adequate as they had, in remarkable expression of confidence, anticipated that he would be.

With the address to Congress, Mr. Coolidge's full rôle as President began to unfold. If there were those who had considered, as John Sherman said of Blaine, that his ability was literary, and that he could not be thought of as commander of a regiment or a frigate, they proceeded to reconsider. Like his inaugurals as Governor, it is wholly concrete, constructive, decisive, of the present. It is in every word a programme of action. It leaves no shadow of doubt about where he stands and the precise direction in which he proposes to move. With the decisive action on his part which followed under many particulars of the message, and his determination to carry out the rest

of his proposals, we have here the President's justification of his year's administration and the personal platform upon which he comes before the people as an aspirant to the presidency by choice.

All the important contests between the President and Congress had to do, in one way or another, with government finance — the income tax, the bonus, pensions, wages of postal employees, the railroads, and agriculture. In all these vital problems, President Coolidge holds for himself and wishes to establish for the Nation the principle that no fraction of the people is to benefit at the expense of the whole people, and that to provide government largess in any form means that it must be paid for, not only by the person who has a tax bill, but by every one who earns and spends. It is, of course, true that under the broad principle there may still be righteous difference of opinion as to details — whether one tax or another tax shall be more or less. But the understanding and adoption of this principle in its broad significance is one of the chief pieces of national educational work upon which Mr. Coolidge has staked his administration and his prospect of election to a four-year term. Should a President do nothing more than to discredit permanently the prevalent attitude of so many Congressmen who vote money from the

Federal Treasury to satisfy the demands of this or that element in their constituencies, and should he bring forward among the people nationally a controlling nucelus of those who out of long-range self-interest no less than patriotism would constantly insist on this policy, he would by such an achievement alone place himself on the list of our great statesmen. This motive is what fundamentally distinguishes the financial programme of President Coolidge. It means the gradual crystallization of a new civic intelligence.

The reduction of government expenses, and with them of taxes, find their meaning in the Coolidge doctrine that " the wealth of the Nation is owned by the people of the Nation"; and their relation to the larger human service of government in his maxim, worthy of Franklin: " All progress is the result of economy."

The application of this principle is quite clear with relation to the bonus and pensions. It is somewhat clouded in the case of the taxation, of railroads, of agriculture, and wages to government employees. Here the issue often seems to be the very simple one between the rich and the poor, whereas it is always the extremely complicated one of the accumulation and emancipation of the vast capital upon which the continuation of the liveli-

hood and well-being of all depends. To segregate this precious capital by taxation, and then distribute it wastefully and even demoralizingly, means an inevitable decrease of national income, with advancing poverty and distress. The concentration of the power of capital is certainly an evil, but no solution has been offered for it by responsible economic thinkers except by the increase of training and experience in coöperation, through which increasing numbers of persons with small incomes will learn to administer capital by joint effort.

This is the logic that lies behind President Coolidge's recommendations to the farmers, with whom he has so intense a fellow-feeling that he has given much more consideration to their necessities than to any other large issue that has come before him. In the light of the large principle which he has in mind, he cannot support any measure that would mean a government subsidy to this or that branch of agriculture. He can and will broaden and intensify all the present great available resources of government for helping the farmers to help themselves; he will especially encourage those projects of coöperative marketing and coöperative purchase of supplies that have already accomplished marvellous results and which give vast promise for the future. There is good reason to

believe the farmers see more clearly than some of their political exponents represent the thoroughgoing wisdom of this policy.

This suggests also the President's attitude toward the problems of capital and labor. Mr. James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor, said before the Pennsylvania State Convention of the American Federation of Labor: "I will place the labor record of Calvin Coolidge against the record of any man who has ever held the presidency of the United States or the governorship of any State." The earlier chapters of this book will sustain Mr. Davis in his position. In the President's address of acceptance, he is in line with this record. He says:

> While the cost of living has gone down, wages have advanced. The twelve-hour day and seven-day week have practically been abolished. The uninterrupted operation of public utilities with mutually satisfactory and legally established methods of adjusting labor questions have been sought. Collective bargaining and voluntary arbitration have been encouraged. Republican rule has raised the wage-earner to a higher standard than he ever occupied before anywhere in the world.

He has a philosophy that goes beneath the surface conflicts of industrial administration. He hopes that there may "be established a true industrial democracy" where "each individual would become an owner, an operator and a manager, a

master and a servant, a ruler and a subject." He sees, with some of our ablest economists, the redistribution of wealth going on under our eyes. "The great outstanding fact in the economic life of America is that the wealth of the Nation is owned by the people of the Nation. The stockholders of the great corporations run into the hundreds of thousands, the small tradesmen, the thrifty householders, the tillers of the soil, the depositors in savings banks, and the new owners of government bonds, make a number that includes nearly our whole people." The coöperative principle, which he is eager in every way to promote, will mean that this vast subdivision of wealth will bring in the coming years an epoch-making development of farmers' coöperation, of labor banks, and many other great practical projects through which the people will, by normal economic development, become increasingly not only the owners but administrators of capital. On the other hand, the President sees the manifold hopeful developments toward industrial democracy within the established organization of manufacture and trade, in terms of wages and profits, under the leadership both of responsible captains of industry and responsible officials of organized labor.

President Coolidge holds that the present tariff

law has been beneficial; and, in any case, opposes any speedy disturbance of business depending on its provisions. It seems not unlikely, however, that the Western farmers have presented a challenge which will have to be considered when the question of a protective tariff is again definitely raised. The argument is that if the industries are to have protection so that prices of manufactured goods are raised, has not the farmer a right to such government action as will help him to secure for his product a price corresponding? Of course, when manufacturing business is prosperous, the farmer's market is correspondingly improved; but this only partly meets the situation. One way toward an equitable solution is provided in the law through which, under the initiative of a bi-partisan commission, the President has authority to modify rates as facts may warrant. He has stated in his speech of acceptance that farming should be on a basis of equality with other industries, and that, as the farmers and their advisers have not been able to agree how this shall be done, he proposes to appoint a committee to investigate and report measures to Congress designed to secure this result.

The President properly includes the restriction of immigration — a very remarkable reversal of national policy for the protection of national eco-

nomic and cultural standards — under the same principle as legislation for the protection of industry from foreign wage competition. There can be little doubt, under world conditions as they are, that this double policy will remain the established one for the coming generation.

In any case, let it be remembered by all who wish to think clearly about national financial problems, that Calvin Coolidge is not, never has been, never will be, the exemplar, spokesman, champion of the rich. It is not in his mind, in his nature, in his background, in his personal associations, or in his ambitions to be so. But he will equally refuse to cater to immediate, short-sighted demands of those who have little. He is, and will be, courageously striving, against opposition of whatever sort, to secure the greatest continuous good of all in terms of economic and spiritual opportunity.

The congressional investigations, in spite of what was objectionable both in their method and their spirit, were a necessary and wholesome sequel to the confusion of standards and practice that affects any government during and after a great war. It was natural, on the one hand, that the Democratic prosecutors should not be interested in tracing the many serious irregularities that took place during the Wilson Administration; and, on

the other, that the Republican Administration should seek to protect its appointees. The President, also, was undoubtedly pursuing his line of official duty, with ample precedents, in defending executive rights and powers against the encroachments of Congress, and in not condemning officials of the Government until adequate ground had been shown.

The contest between the coalition of the Democrats and the La Follette group, on the one hand, and the Administration, on the other, subsided with the retirement of two members of the Cabinet and the appointment in their places of men representing beyond question the highest qualifications that the country could afford. With this came the appointment by the President of attorneys representing the two parties to follow up all charges of corruption, who in due time fulfilled the President's promise of " unshrinking " action by securing indictments against former Secretary Fall and Mr. Edward L. Doheny and his son, with whom Mr. Fall had more than questionable dealings in connection with the lease of government oil land. This result, the characteristic outcome of President Coolidge's attitude toward the whole situation, will suggest that his way of dealing with it was at least as sound as those proposed by his critics.

During the process, criticism of the President was of two kinds, each of which the course of events itself has already effectually disposed of, so far as public judgment is concerned.

It was held that as Mr. Coolidge was present at the meetings of President Harding's Cabinet, he must have known of the objectionable state of things in the departments which was exposed by the congressional committee, and should have acted to correct them. The reply to this is that Mr. Coolidge, as has been shown, had no responsible part in meetings of the Cabinet; that while he may have learned of conditions which he would not have continued if he had been creating a Cabinet, he knew of nothing previous to the investigation which as a matter of fair play and good judgment would have led him to call for resignations from the Cabinet as it stood. In general, public sentiment clearly recognizes the unreality of this issue as affecting the administration of Mr. Coolidge for the present and the future.

The other criticism has reference to his delay in calling for the resignation of Attorney-General Daugherty. Sometimes this has gone so far as to impugn the President's courage; but surely no fair-minded person can have reviewed his course through this period, following the series of vetoes

which were calculated one after another to alienate great bodies of voters, and still hold that his official course was influenced by fear. His whole procedure with regard to his relations with Congress is logical, straightforward, of a piece with his temperament and personality, in accordance with his line of action under every sort of condition in the past.

History has shown many remarkable instances — and American history its proportion — of the deliberative type of man of action; without exception such men have encountered the same type of criticism, never without bitter stings, that has been waged against Mr. Coolidge, not only as President, but as Governor of Massachusetts. The classical instance is that of Fabius, " the incarnation of all that a Roman meant by patriotism." " Wherefore it may not be gainsaid that the fruit of this man's long taking of counsel — and (by the many so deemed) untimeous delays — was the safe-holding for all men, his fellow-citizens, of the Common Weal." " For the right moment you must wait as Fabius did most patiently, when warring against Hannibal, though many censured his delays; but when the time comes, you must strike hard, as Fabius did, or your waiting will be in vain and fruitless."

One of the best-known and most highly respected reformers in the country, living in the Middle West, at an early stage in the Daugherty situation, spent an entire evening with the President in urging him to remove the Attorney-General at once. In the end, this man stated that he believed the President's time for action had proved to be the right one.

Mr. Coolidge not only considers with scrupulous care all the factual bearings of an official act, but he weighs everything that may suggest what is the right time for action. When he has decided his course, he is well-nigh inflexible, and as to the time when he has determined to act, that is a matter about which even the multitude of counsellors cannot shake him. It is surely beside the mark to forget that there are two different sets of values in the aggressiveness of men like Presidents Roosevelt and Wilson and in the deliberativeness of President Coolidge; and to express surprise, in given instances, that he does not proceed as they would. "The gods approve the depth and not the tumult of the soul." Mr. Coolidge does not make it part of the pursuit of right to engage in quarrels, to impute evil, or to create enmities. The country can afford to be patient with his more gradual corrective methods when it is assured that the presi-

dential office in his hands will be free of two real abominations of our public life — contention and detraction. In any case, it is universally agreed that when Mr. Coolidge's time comes, he springs at once to executive action, brings things to pass with marvellous dispatch, precision, and completeness, with a minimum of incidental damage, remaining himself in the background, and leaving the result strictly to speak for itself.

It is the same lack of discrimination, on the part of critics, between contrasted temperaments that makes them see in President Coolidge's patient method the certain marks of the conservative. He is not, indeed, the reformer, though always accessible to reform proposals that have the qualities of actuality and patience in them. But no more is he the mere conservator of past achievement. His whole motive from the beginning, above all his purpose now as President, is to work out, step by step, with the people the new stage in their ever-unfolding destiny. He would protect the foundations because it is upon them the Nation that is to be must be built. He is a constructor, who realizes that business must be as usual in the great existing building as the newer fabric is being erected in, through, and about it. As an officer of state, he has always been engaged upon the sub-

stantial framework of that newer fabric. Horace Mann once said that one former is worth many reformers. Mr. Coolidge is, and always has been, distinctively the former, through his unparalleled stages of experience in public service. As Dr. Marion L. Burton, president of the University of Michigan, said in his nominating speech at the Cleveland Convention: " In the fullest sense of the term, his conservatism is remarkably progressive. It grapples with facts: it uses the past to make the future; it welcomes changes for the better; it rejoices in the blessings we now enjoy; it enters militantly into the struggle for sound progress. This man is an American."

Recurring to the matter of appointments, we should note that the first one made by Mr. Coolidge, that of Mr. C. Bascom Slemp as private secretary, was the subject of much unfavorable comment. It is understood that one of the most trustworthy leaders in each house of Congress was asked to recommend a man of congressional experience for the position. After careful consideration of a long list, they finally decided on Mr. Slemp as the best available man. He had served creditably for a considerable period in the House of Representatives, and ended this service voluntarily. He had been successful in business, and had also had ex-

perience as a college professor. It appeared after he was appointed that he had been charged with being directly or indirectly responsible for some political assessments on postmasters in his Virginia district. Crude political motives were at once discerned in the appointment. A calmer judgment would be that its doubtful aspects had not come to the attention of the President.

President Coolidge's real pace is struck in the appointment, as Secretary of the Navy, of Curtis D. Wilbur, graduate of Annapolis, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of California, and leader in all public-spirited enterprises; as Attorney-General, of Harlan F. Stone, another northern New England farm-boy, formerly dean of the Columbia University Law School; and as head of the Reclamation Service, of Dr. Elwood Mead, recognized as the leading authority in agricultural problems in the great irrigation regions of the Far Southwest.

A very fine illustration of the extraordinary freedom, flexibility, and comprehensiveness with which the President's mind may be expected to work in the selection of men is shown in his summoning Dr. Burton to make the nominating speech. Note the variety and range of considerations — every one having political significance such as the ordinary politician would not think of — that un-

doubtedly had to do with this decision: born in Iowa; a poor boy earning his way in Minneapolis; educated at a Minnesota college; student at Yale Divinity School; a minister in Brooklyn; president of Smith College at Northampton, which is the largest college for women in the country; a friend there of Mr. Coolidge, knowing his whole background; president first of the University of Minnesota, then of the University of Michigan, two of the largest coeducational institutions in the country; a power with the people and the legislatures of both States; well-informed publicist; facile and forceful extempore speaker; magnetic presence; man among men.

It is not to be doubted that President Coolidge will hold to the standard suggested by his Cabinet appointments. He will draw and hold men of the highest type, for one reason because he has the long-established habit of giving officers serving under him wide latitude and open-handed support. He makes Lincoln — a rarely expressive portrait of whom is the only decoration on his office wall — his exemplar as a diviner of public sentiment; but strives to follow Washington, "the best of great men and the greatest of good men," in his discernment and choice of persons for officers of government.

President Coolidge is a very unusual administrator — as all who have watched his course in the White House agree. But his title to leadership of exceptional quality in the presidential office is also becoming increasingly clear. The impression made by him upon the country is not merely that of the capable executive. His whole front toward life appeals to those who are bearing the responsibilities of existence and know that they must continuously reckon with them. He instinctively and conscientiously represents the kind of progress, the advancing moral standards, which the people can agree to, and the Government can embody.

A recent writer, E. C. Lindeman, has well said:

> It is no longer possible for the great leader, single-handed, to wield power over the docile mass. The prophet of the future will come up, not from the people, but with the people. His will not be a voice crying in the wilderness, but rather a voice joined with other voices, an activity joined with other activities, in a coöperative attempt to solve a mutual problem. He will not be the orator graced with the tricks of securing mock-consent by crowd-methods, but rather the participator in discussion who knows how to evaluate the worth and the contribution of all who share his life and interests.

The life-motive of Calvin Coolidge, on the practical side, could hardly be more accurately de-

scribed. He holds that "leadership should not be by force, but by service."

But we are told that he has fallen short because Congress has so little followed his lead. No one has ventured to indicate how any one in his place, under the chaotic circumstances, could have secured the coöperation of Congress. One sort of man might have sought to utilize on a large scale the leverage of government patronage; another might have thrown down the gauntlet to Congress as a whole, and to recalcitrant Republicans, whether radical or conservative. Neither of these methods goes with Mr. Coolidge's type of leadership; and no one can say that either would have been more productive of results.

It has occasionally been represented that until Congress assembled the President was in a purely negative attitude, and that during the period of disagreement between the Capitol and the White House, he was baffled and at bay. For the first months of his administration, his address to Congress is a sufficient answer as to his attitude in that direction. In the conflict with Congress, he acted throughout on the basis of the principle which was well established in his mind by experience, that in a disagreement between the legislature and the executive, the latter is always at a great advantage with the public.

There is ample reason to believe from his past experience that if he is elected with a strong mandate from the people, utilizing his undoubted capacity for adapting himself to groups and sections, he will find ways at least of mitigating the evils that go with the threatened break-up of the two-party system. It can be asserted, however, that he will not risk serious damage to the whole structure of government by seeking to subordinate the legislative function to the executive.

Meanwhile, no shadow of doubt can be cast upon the marvellous results he has attained by his quiet and all the more effective appeal, over the heads of Congress, to the country. There is an achievement here that would have increased the power and distinction of any of the Presidents. There is reason to believe that this response is having its even more discerning counterpart among young, high-minded government officials, who see in Mr. Coolidge's standards and practice the promise of broader and finer opportunity in public-service careers.

He stands in a position of peculiar authority which he has not only vindicated by his worth, but has confirmed by his power of generalship. It was one of Mr. Coolidge's masterly political plans to avoid giving possible competitors for the presi-

dential nomination issues on the basis of which they could oppose him, along with his skill in planning the pre-convention campaign, that served largely to make him the only real candidate at Cleveland. This meant for him, in almost unlimited degree, the leadership of his party, carrying with it much of the value of actual election to the presidency. He immediately felt and showed the effect of the authority thus bestowed. His speech of acceptance is that of the completely accredited head of a reorganized party, filling out in his own name its obligations for the present administration and standing forth as its practically unanimous choice for the next.

Let us here set down some of the elements to make a President which this year in office seems to have brought most distinctly to the surface: Has stern qualities. Is tough of fibre. Can endure strains and stresses. Can withstand pressure. Is still "Go-through Coolidge," as in his early days in Northampton. Has deepest reverence for the office of President, without confusing himself too much with the office. Is the farthest from being a mere pivot of political forces, both by nature and because of his remarkable freedom from political obligations. Success in getting and holding public office is not a necessity to his contented mind; he

has said that he has the honor of the presidency, and under any but free conditions he would not want the election. Is not fretted by opposition; thinks it should be called competition, as being something wholesome and necessary. Keeps himself always prepared, unhurried. Does not take the name of democracy in vain; but has the innate, ineradicable democratic feeling.

But it is not difficult to see in Mr. Coolidge, amid all the administrative complexities of his office and all the pressure of material demands upon him, his strong characteristic tendency toward what will advance the higher well-being of the Nation. He has set forth one of the foremost sources of his inspiration to this higher type of leadership:

> To me the greatness of Lincoln consisted very largely of a vision by which he saw, more clearly than the men of his time, the moral relationship of things. His great achievement consisted in bringing the different elements of his country into a more truly moral relationship.

In every address since he became President, and in stronger, clearer notes than before, he has sought to instil and enforce the sense of "this moral relationship of things." But now he begins to be in a matchless position to do the reasonably possible thing for the attainment of this great end.

As a practical exponent of the higher collective sentiment of the American people, President Coolidge is perhaps best represented in his attitude toward the two great moral issues of the twentieth century — alcoholism and war.

In his message to Congress, he committed the Government to a much more advanced position on prohibition than it had yet taken. He reported that a treaty was being negotiated with Great Britain with respect to the right of search of hovering vessels. This treaty was soon ratified and made to apply to vessels within one hour's sailing distance of the coast. Somewhat later, negotiations were entered into with Canada that will in due time and increasingly reduce liquor smuggling from that source. The President held that the Coast Guard should be very greatly strengthened. Some $13,000,000 have since been appropriated for the purpose, and from now on the illicit trade along all the ocean shores will be adequately and continuously pursued. The worst points along the Great Lakes, as on the Detroit River, are now being effectually patrolled. The severe penalties of the law against smuggling are now to be put in effect against the importation of liquor. He further stated in his address that "the major sources of production should be rigidly regulated." This

more complicated aspect of the problem is being increasingly followed up, both under the prohibition enforcement authorities of the Treasury Department and through the action of Attorney-General Stone in bringing up the standard of the United States District Attorney service throughout the country. The misuse of liquor under release permits from government depositories has been greatly minimized by reducing the number of these depositories from three hundred to forty. The injunction process is being relentlessly applied against persistent offenders — three hundred premises have been closed in this way in New York City alone. It was reported some time ago that there were over one hundred of the principals in the bootleg business in federal penitentiaries. Much remains to be done; but much has been done already under the President's determined initiative to carry to practical conclusion what Professor Thomas N. Carver, the eminent sociologist of Harvard University, holds to be, even as things stand, the most important social reform that has been achieved in recent times.

What is even more significant than his immediate action is his advanced, unequivocal support of the prohibition law. He supports it as law to be obeyed. He says in this connection, " It is the

duty of a citizen not only to observe the law, but to let it be known that he is opposed to its violation." He goes much further. In an epoch-making statement, brief but pregnant, he burns the bridges behind him with regard to the Eighteenth Amendment as decisively as Abraham Lincoln did with relation to Emancipation. Following a President who did no more than to urge the enforcement of the prohibition law as law — who himself came after a President that sought to stretch the wording of the Eighteenth Amendment so as to authorize beer and wine — Mr. Coolidge adopted, asserted, and emphasized the fundamental principle that lies back of all prohibition legislation, and recognized such legislation as an embodiment of "the American policy." He says:

> There is an inescapable personal responsibility for the development of character, of industry, of thrift, and of self-control. These do not come from the Government, but from the people themselves. But the Government can and should always be expressive of steadfast determination, always vigilant, to maintain conditions under which these virtues are most likely to develop and secure recognition and reward. This is the American policy. It is in accordance with this principle that we have enacted laws for the protection of the public health and have adopted prohibition in narcotic drugs and intoxicating liquors.

Thomas Hill Green, the great English philosopher of the last generation, to whom so many statesmen and social reformers have looked as their inspiring leader, was a particularly strong advocate of personal liberty, but he wrote of "the paradox, the unavoidable paradox, of state action. It uses force to create freedom." From this point of view, he held in 1878 that the state may ask its citizens "to limit, or even altogether to give up, the not very precious liberty of buying and selling alcohol, in order that they may become more free to exercise the faculties and improve the talents which God has given them." President Coolidge has, for the first time, unequivocally embodied this principle in an American state paper. It will go far not only to confirm one great national moral advance, but to broaden the highway of freedom and progress for others to come.

After indicating his support, in this connection, of the child labor amendment — which was in due time passed and submitted to the State legislatures — of the minimum wage law for women under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, and of an educational department with Cabinet representation, he says, "The humanitarian side of government should not be repressed, but should be cultivated." This is simply the consistent echo

from his inaugural as Governor and more distantly of his "humanities of municipal administration." Here we have the very striking fact that at the first opportunity as President he gave his support in national terms to some of the same measures of social justice in which he was originally interested as a legislator.

President Coolidge's position with regard to international relations is largely determined by two profound influences that deeply affected his nurture and training, both of which have been confirmed and strengthened by the passage of time and particularly by recent events. He feels the absolute importance of American political independence. But he is deeply and vitally moved by the sense of American responsibility to the world. He was born on the 4th of July; but he was bred in a college whose motto is, "Enlighten the Lands."

It cannot be doubted that America is to be more American and less cosmopolitan. The confused struggle of preparing the national mind to meet a world responsibility in the Great War has had its logical sequel in the new policy for the severe restriction of immigration. The necessity of national coherence is what suggests a great part of the danger in the divisions that embarrass both

the great political parties. For those divisions are based very largely on a variety of racial feelings, which respond instinctively to heterogeneous Old World situations and backgrounds. Present internal fact, even more than tradition, warns against what would have the effect of foreign alliances.

Subject to the condition that the American Government be not involved in actual governmental processes with other countries, President Coolidge is under a momentum that will carry him far — has already carried him far, and will carry him much farther — in coöperating with other nations for world peace, welfare, and progress. When consulting with a few chosen advisers with regard to his address accepting the vice-presidential nomination, he said, "We must always remember that America is a missionary country, and I do not limit that word to its religious sense. It is the finest thing in the life of this country." As to war, while always facing realities, he has expressed his aversion to it in terms not unworthy of a Quaker. It should be remembered that he was instrumental in placing in the Republican platform the far-reaching preventive plank providing, in case of war, for the universal drafting of wealth as well as of man-power.

The President is conspicuously in the lead of the one great proposal in the direction of international peace that can, and in all probability will, have the broad support of the American people — that of the World Court. The World Court is the indispensable means, as it will gradually become the adequate means, for checking and obviating the steps that lead to war. He has earnestly followed up the results of the Washington Conference for the Reduction of Armament, and he intends in due time to call another with a view to further progress in the same direction. He has provided for many ways through which America is unofficially yet effectively coöperating with the League of Nations. The historic achievement of the Dawes Commission, with its remarkably capable personnel, followed up in person by the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury, shows how far the Coolidge Administration is undertaking to go, and what far-reaching results it proposes to accomplish.

It cannot be questioned that much more has been, and will be, brought to pass in these directions through informal executive action than through measures which, by requiring treaty power, become involved in senatorial controversy.

During the War, we had the " Allied and Asso-

ciated Powers," the latter epithet covering the relationship undertaken by the United States. A twofold form of joint activity is operating among the nations, including America, for purposes of peace — one within the League of Nations, one between it and a nation outside. The League appears to be increasingly open to such coöperation from without. It is not unlikely that an American people's way of adhesion to the World Court, under the initiative of President Coolidge, by avoiding the frame of a super-government, may establish the working principle of a freer, more enduring process for the organization of the world.

Hear the conclusion of the whole matter: Many things show that the American people, learning how in religion the life is more than sect or doctrine, begin to discover the same principle in politics.

THE END

NOTES AND REFERENCES

SPECIAL assistance has been received from Charles A. Andrews, a classmate of Mr. Coolidge who read the manuscript and offered many constructive suggestions. Henry F. Long, Mr. Coolidge's secretary as Governor, read and discussed with me the chapter on the governorship — the statements in which have been carefully tested from various points of view. Mrs. Woods has aided me, at many points, especially in connection with the reading of the proof.

I have had the advantage of reading, and to some extent drawing upon, biographies of the President by R. M. Washburn, Edward E. Whiting, M. E. Hennessy, and Horace Green.

It would be impossible to enumerate the many persons who by word of mouth or by their writings in the press have provided me with valuable information and clues.

Through the courtesy of Joseph L. Harrison, Librarian, I have had the fullest use of the important and increasing body of material about Mr. Coolidge which is being collected and arranged by the Forbes Library at Northampton, Massachusetts.

The silhouette on the cover, cut by Doris Burdick, August, 1920, is used by courtesy of Foster Brothers, Boston.

It has been thought best to distract the reader's attention as little as might be with the suggestion of references and comment in connection with the text. The more important points to be covered in that way are included below.

R. A. W.

Page 8. Bryce: *The American Commonwealth* (New York, 1893), vol. I, p. 539.
Reinsch: *American Legislatures and Legislative Methods* (New York, 1907), p. 174.

9. Lowell: *Literary Essays* (Boston, 1899), vol. II, p. 294.

31. *Have Faith in Massachusetts*, p. 3.

48. The quotations in this chapter were nearly all found in the files of the Northampton newspapers in the Forbes Library.

64. Quotation from *The Grant Game*, January, 1924. (William T. Grant Co., New York.)

Page 67. In this chapter much of the information was gained from a set of forty scrap-books which Mr. Coolidge has deposited in the Forbes Library.

83. *The Independent*, September 1, 1864. Quoted in *Six Months in the White House*, by F. B. Carpenter (New York, 1866), p. 309.

84. *Amherst Graduates Quarterly:* Centennial Number, August, 1921; "Amherst in the White House," by Charles A. Andrews, August, 1923; "Calvin Coolidge, Amherst, '95," February, 1924.

88. *Parties and Party Leaders*, by Anson D. Morse, with an introduction by Dwight W. Morrow. (Boston, 1923.)

90. *Letters, Lectures, and Addresses of Charles Edward Garman* (Boston, 1909.)

126. *Life of Franklin Pierce*, by Nathaniel Hawthorne. (Boston, 1852.)

135. Many phases of the period from the governorship campaign up to the vice-presidency — especially the police strike — are covered by the scrap-books in the Forbes Library.

163. The reference to Judge Holmes's decision is: 155 Mass. 216. A police officer having violated a rule of his department, it was the opinion of the Court "that there is nothing in the Constitution or the statute to prevent the city from attaching obedience to this rule as a condition to the office of policeman and making it part of the good conduct required." Attorney-General Wyman held that under this principle the Police Commissioner was fully empowered to forbid the affiliation of the union with the American Federation of Labor and the acts consequent upon it. It will, of course, be understood that for Massachusetts no decision could be more convincing as well as final.

186. Senator Crane was taken ill at the notification exercises at Northampton and died soon after.

194. *The Outline of History* (New York, 1922), p. 705. Wells seems to find the spread of education, so as to reach and unite the people, to be the most decisive influence in history.

204. *Aids to Reflection* first brought to American attention the idealistic philosophy, of which Professor Garman was an exponent. It was originally published in this

country in Burlington, Vermont, in 1829, under the editorship of James Marsh, President of the University of Vermont.

Page 210. Files of the *Hampshire Gazette.*

214. William Hard, in *The Nation*, October 10, 1923.

215. Mr. Clark continues as the very efficient personal secretary to the President.
Psalm CXVIII: 22, 23.

224. One correspondent said: "All this time he kept his mouth shut; much to the delight of the American people, who positively basked in the unaccustomed silences."

228. Second quotation from Rowland Thomas, *New York World*, November 6, 1919.

235. Quotation from Carlyle's *French Revolution*, book I, chap. II.

251. Instead of John Sherman read General Sherman.

261. Quotation from the original announcement of the Fabian Society, London. Origin unknown.
An admirer of Lincoln wrote in 1864:

> Slow, if you please, but *true.* Unimpassioned, if you please, but *true.* . . . Reluctant to part with unworthy official advisers, but *true* himself, *true as steel.* I could wish him less a man of facts, and more a man of ideas. . . . But every man has his faults, and still I say: *Amen to Abraham Lincoln. — Six Months in the White House*, p. 312.

265. Quotation from Edward Everett.

266. *The Survey*, June 15, 1924.

273. Article in *These Eventful Years*, published by the Encyclopædia Britannica Company, 1924.

275. Quoted in Ernest Barker's *Political Thought in England* (Home University Library), pp. 37, 51.

THE AUTHOR'S CHRONOLOGY

1865.	Born, East Liberty, Pennsylvania.
1872–82.	Pittsburgh public schools.
1882–86.	Amherst College.
1886–90.	Andover Theological Seminary.
1890.	In residence, Toynbee Hall, London.
1891–	Head of the South End House, Boston.
1896–1914.	Lecturer at Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge.
1896–1906.	Member of Municipal Commission on Baths and Gymnasiums.
1899–	President of Boston Social Union, made up of twenty-five settlement houses.
1903–07.	Chairman of Citizens' Committee, and Secretary of State Commission, to establish Industrial Schools.
1907–14.	Chairman of the Board, State Hospital for Inebriates.
1910.	Honorary M.A., Harvard University.
1910–20.	Trustee of Amherst College.
1911–22.	Secretary of National Federation of Settlements. Now its President.
1914–16.	Member of Licensing Board for the City of Boston.
1918.	President of National Conference of Social Work. Chairman of State Committee to secure ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment.
1918–19.	Member of Governing Board, Boston Chamber of Commerce.
1919–20.	Lectured in Japan, China, India, and the Near East.
1922–	President of Wells Memorial Institute for Working Men and Women.
1924–	Member of Zoning Commission for the City of Boston.

BOOKS

1891.	English Social Movements.
1898.	The City Wilderness; A Study of the South End. (Editor.)
1902.	Americans in Process; A Study of the North and West Ends. (Editor.)
1911.	Handbook of Settlements. (Joint Editor.)
1922.	The Settlement Horizon; a National Estimate. (With Albert J. Kennedy.)
1923.	The Neighborhood in Nation Building; The Running Comment of Thirty Years at the South End House.

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